CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

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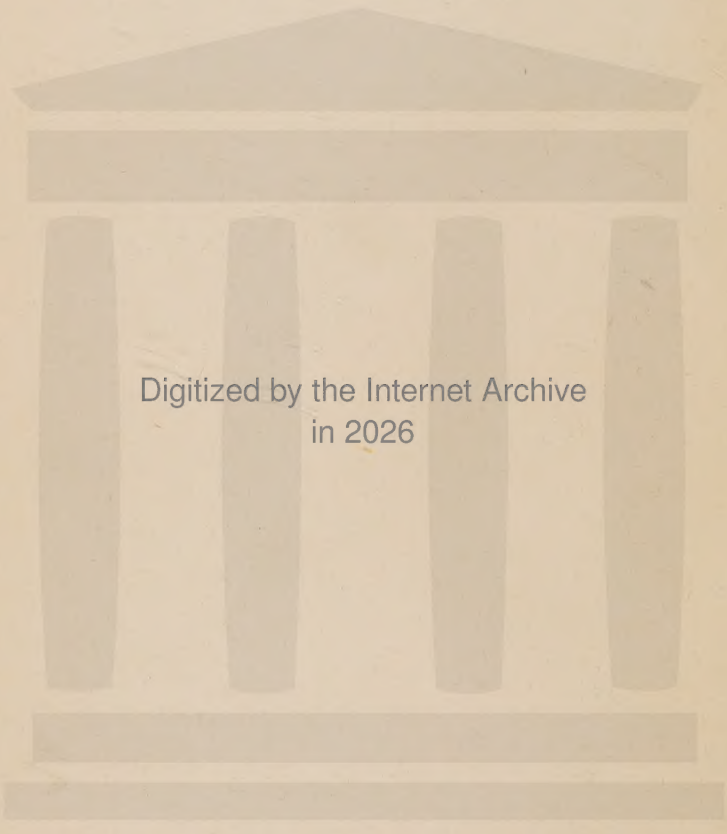
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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

A STUDY IN CHRISTIAN LIBERALISM

BY

R. B. TOLLINTON, B.D.

RECTOR OF TENDRING
SOMETIME EXHIBITIONER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD
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"Every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old."

PREFACE

Many books have been written in recent years on Clement of Alexandria. Some of them are so far final in character that they leave to the student of the present day little scope for labour within their own particular spheres. Dr Stählin, in the Berlin edition of the Fathers, has given us the text of Clement's writings in what is likely to remain for many years its standard and accepted form. The edition of the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis* by the late Professors Hort and Mayor is a permanently valuable instance of the services which the learning of our ancient Universities can render to patristic study. M. Eugène de Faye's *Clément d'Alexandrie* and the late Dr Bigg's Bampton Lectures on *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* will long retain their interest for all students of Clement, alike by their accurate learning and by their singular literary charm. Even in regard to the vexed question of Clement's "Sources" the area within which new results are to be expected from further investigation may now be regarded as defined.

If I venture to make a further addition to the literature of a subject on which so much has been well and even finally said, it is because my aim is in some respects different from those of other recent works. Along with the attempt

to give a detailed presentation of Clement and his times, there runs the ulterior purpose of bringing the Alexandrine Father, his personality, his period, his standpoint, and his problems, into relation with our own days ; of enabling the modern reader to gather from Clement's writings all that is of value for modern conditions ; of bringing into relief the parallels, where such can be found, between his environment and our own. Such a scheme in its intrinsic character, apart from those defects in its execution for which the writer alone must bear the blame, is open to criticism at many points. On some of these it may be permissible to say a word of introduction, if for no other purpose, at least to show that they have not been unrecognised.

Archbishop Benson, in the Preface to his *Cyprian*, refers to that "grievous fault . . . the reading of the present into the past." It may be that the present work runs some risk of disregarding this salutary warning of a wise master. The search for parallels in the past may easily result in our deception by superficial resemblances, and even if history did repeat itself, the very repetition would constitute a new condition. It can only be urged in defence that the Past is ours as a great school from which to learn, and that the error of believing distant generations to be more near our own than they really are, is probably less dangerous than the mistake of supposing that we are confronted with problems and conditions which are unprecedented and entirely new. We do not hesitate to regard the Hebrew Prophets as a heritage of value for later times, and the Alexandrine Fathers, in their outlook and interests, are considerably less removed from us than the great age of Prophecy.

Again, it may be urged that to follow Clement through the various subjects with which he deals is inevitably to trespass upon domains, which have been long since appropriated by the specialists. He has evidence, for example, to offer us as to the Sacraments and the Ministry and the Text of the New Testament. Some reference to these in such a book as the present has been inevitable, yet it may be said in criticism that either nothing at all, or else far more, should have been said on these much debated topics. Bishop Creighton once spoke of the difficulty of combining "readableness and research," and it may well be that this book lies open to the charge that it should either have been more learned or more popular; that, in other words, it "falls between two stools" rather than secures the "golden mean." Yet it seemed possible that some, who have little time for monographs and special studies, would be glad to know in outline the main questions which arise for discussion and research from the pages of a writer so discursive, and of such varied interests, as the author of the *Stromateis*. Moreover, indebted as we are to the studies of the specialists, there may be some gain in the attempt to consider a man and his works as a single unity; the main proportions may stand out more clearly, even if the details are sometimes missed. Yet I have been fully conscious of the difficulty involved by this feature in my task. How far it has been successfully met, can only be left to the kindly judgment of the reader.

Once again, whoever invites interest in Clement of Alexandria pleads, directly or indirectly, the cause of Hellenism in Christianity. To do this in the present generation is an enterprise which many would deem unseasonable or

even futile. Some would assert that under existing conditions the Church must make the social problem its primary concern. Others would point to the sudden emergence and far-reaching issues of the "Apocalyptic" question, as clear evidence that the Hellenic influence was not an original, and is therefore not a permanent, element in the Christian Religion. And, from yet another quarter, the very title of the Greek language to its place as a factor in true culture is vigorously challenged. So, from many sides, are heard the voices which warn us that it is not in the Hellenic interpretation of the Gospel that our own times are likely to find their remedies, their convictions, their inspiration. To which, not without recognition of its force and truth, I must be content to reply simply, that I have written for those who share my belief that the Hellenic type of Christianity cannot be surrendered without irreparable damage to our spiritual heritage. For some natures, albeit a minority, it is likely to remain the most natural, if not the only possible, form of Christian belief.

In spite, then, of these and other inherent liabilities to objection, I have not deemed it lost labour to carry out the plan of this present work to such completion as lay within my power. It is true that Clement had his limitations, that his work was a resultant rather than a creative force, that he was learned rather than original, and that he has hardly secured a place among the greatest Masters of Christianity. The claim to be made for him is of another order, and may be expressed by saying that, in a transitional age, he had a singular power of discerning spiritual affinities, and that on most of the problems of his time his judgment was generous and sound. It is his temper, his attitude, his

religious "orientation," which are really worth preserving. They have their peculiar value, as Bishop Westcott reminded us, in all times of change. The conviction that in such ways Clement can teach lessons which are needed in our own age, is one which has grown stronger as I have come to know him more intimately. Herein lies the motive of this book.

In regard to method, I have preferred to give the substance of Clement's statements on any given subject, with references—possibly too numerous—in the footnotes, rather than to insert translated extracts from his actual writings. He is so discursive a writer that his thoughts must usually be collected from many passages. Moreover, to modern readers, Clement's ideas are often more congenial than the form in which he has expressed them. The last chapter, to some extent, brings the reader into direct contact with Clement's writings.

How much I owe to previous students of Clement will be sufficiently obvious from the pages of this work and the references in the notes. My book, like Clement's own works, must make but cautious claim to any measure of originality. May I follow him also in the grateful acknowledgment of my indebtedness to the "Elders" who have worked before me.

In view of the very complete bibliographies, which are contained in Dr H. U. Meyboom's *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Leiden, 1912), and in Professor Patrick's Croall Lectures, *Clement of Alexandria* (Edinburgh and London, 1914), I have not thought it necessary to append, as I had originally intended, any similar list to my own book. I much regret that Professor Patrick's Lectures appeared too

late for me to make use of them in the preparation of these volumes.

I desire to express my special thanks to Dr E. Breccia, Director of the Græco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, for much welcome guidance in regard to the second chapter, and for his services in procuring the photographs for the first and fourth illustrations ; also to Dr Gerald H. Rendall, recently Headmaster of Charterhouse School, for his general interest in my undertaking, and, in particular, for many valuable suggestions in regard to the last chapter ; also to my former colleague, the Rev. F. H. Wales, B.D., for the assiduous care with which he has read the proof sheets, and for much judicious criticism. For the second and third illustrations I am indebted to the courtesy of the authorities of the British Museum and of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

It may save misconception, if I add that the secondary title of this work is intended to have a religious and only a religious significance.

R. B. TOLLINTON.

Tendring Rectory, Essex.
Easter, 1914.

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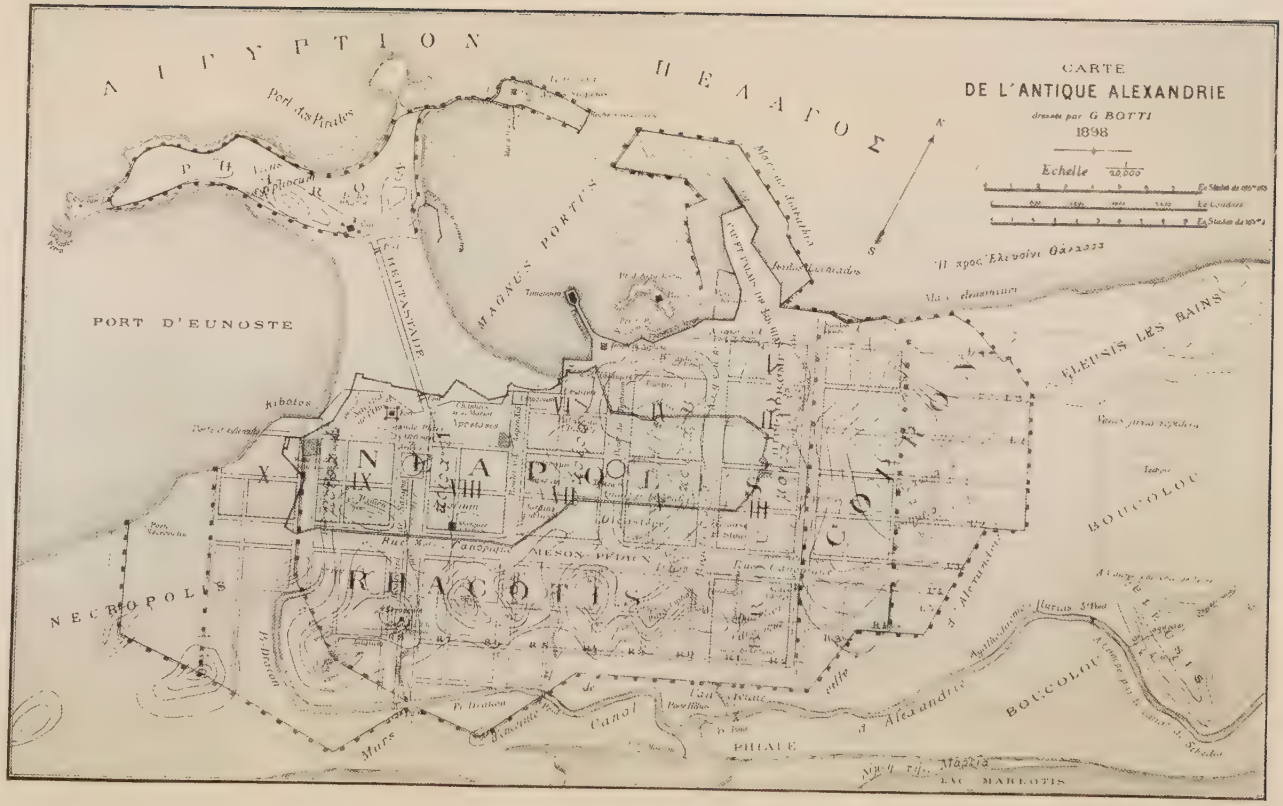
NOTE

The references in the footnotes to the text of Clement are usually given by numbers only, which stand for the pages of Potter's Edition. In the case of the Fragments, however, the editions of Stählin or of Dindorf are mentioned.

The abbreviation "H.E." stands for the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. No other abbreviations which require explanation are employed.



ANCIENT ALEXANDRIA.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CHAPTER I

CLEMENT

Clement of Alexandria was born about the middle of the second century of the Christian era. His full name was Titus Flavius Clemens, and, in the absence of all clear evidence on the subject, the name he bore has suggested possibilities with regard to his ancestry. Half a century before, in the year A.D. 95, another Titus Flavius Clemens[1] had held consular office under Domitian. This Clemens must have been a man of some account, for he was Vespasian's nephew and Domitian's cousin, and at one time it was even possible that his sons would succeed to the imperial position. He was married to Flavia Domitilla, herself also a relative of the reigning Cæsar. The consul, however, lost his life, and his wife was exiled to the island of Pandateria, on the charge of "atheism," a charge which in Domitilla's case certainly meant that she was a convert to Christianity, and the same suspicion may have fallen upon her husband.

It is improbable that Clement of Alexandria was connected by any ties of birth with the imperial household. There is no hint of such an origin in his own writings

[1] Dion Cassius lxvii. 14; Suetonius, *Domitian*, 15; H.E., iii. 18.

or elsewhere, while it is not easy to associate a man of Clement's qualities with the official Roman world. But it is quite likely that some ancestor of the Alexandrine teacher, possibly his grandfather, was a freedman who owed his liberty to the Flavius Clemens who was consul in Domitian's reign. His origin may thus be sought within a Flavian household, though his connection with it was not one of actual kinship. That his ancestors, like many others of their class, were persons of culture and possessed of considerable property, may be regarded as sufficiently probable from what we know of Clement's own circumstances,[1] and it is just possible that the Christianity and consequent exile of Flavia Domitilla may have had some influence in determining the fortunes and movements of his parents, and even their attitude towards the new religion. They were not converts, for Clement was clearly born in an environment of cultured paganism ; but stories of martyrdom and exile and examples of Christian devotion from the closing years of the first century may not have been altogether unknown in the home of his childhood. Such possibilities lie suggested in the name Titus Flavius Clemens, but beyond this we know nothing of his ancestry. He has left no record of his debts to parentage and early environment, though the conjecture may well be hazarded that these were by no means inconsiderable.

In later years two traditions appear to have been current respecting his place of birth. He was frequently described as "the Alexandrine," no doubt to distinguish him from Clement of the Roman Church. From this description, rendered entirely natural by his close connection with Alexandria in later life, arose the theory that Alexandria had also been his birthplace. This would not appear to have been generally accepted. Certain people known to Epi-

[1] *Cp.* 950. The passage is probably suggested by his own experience.

phanius[1] said so, but there is no other evidence to support their view, while it is clear from his own writings that Clement did not come to Egypt till he had reached the age of manhood. There is thus no reason to prevent our acceptance of the alternative tradition that he was born in Athens. Greek as he was in every fibre of his nature, he could hardly have had a more natural and appropriate birthplace. But the supposition, apart from its mere fitness, may claim some measure of positive support, and this it will be worth while to consider, since in certain important respects Clement's work and character appear to have been determined by influences which touched his life in its earlier stages. If it may be regarded as probable that he lived in Athens till he was twenty years of age or older, then it is easier to understand certain features in his teaching, and there is a legitimate interest in the attempt to reconstruct his surroundings.

Now, this view of his birthplace and early home is certainly supported by the fact that in later life he regarded Greece as the starting-point of his travels,[2] and referred to Athens as to a city he had seen and known. The magnificent statue of Athena Polias had been a familiar sight to him.[3] The temples of the city, the roads and mountains in its neighbourhood, the attire of its magistrates, all lived in his memory.[4] Several times in his writings he makes reference to the peculiarities of the Attic dialect,[5] and now and again scholars have caught in his pages a grace and charm they have deemed comparable to the beauty of the great writers of Athens in her ancient prime.[6] But it is, no doubt, precarious to draw local infer-

[1] *Haeres.*, xxxii. 6. [2] 322. [3] 41, 46.
[4] 3, 16, 48, 233. [5] 103, 105, 241, 244.
[6] "Genere dicendi tolerabili nec raro veterum Atticorum elegantiam aemulante utitur," Dindorf, I. xxvii. He "shows a marked familiarity with Attic usage," J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 332.

ences from such literary distinctions in Clement's day.[1] More significant is the fact that he mentions Athens more than once as a city with which, in his eyes, no other was on equal terms.[2] He knew "Athens and the rest of Greece"; but the rest was of secondary account. The biography of Clement is throughout largely a matter of probabilities; but on the ground of such evidence as is available, and in default of any which would lead us to seek his origin elsewhere, we may accept the statement that by birth he was an Athenian, and in that view may proceed to consider in what respects his career and character were influenced by the environment of his earlier years.

At Athens, in the first place, Clement must have received his education, and in later life he never forgets the importance of the influences which come through early training and the school. He was always himself a teacher and a learner. He chose such titles as the "Instructor" and the "Master" for his books. He constantly regarded religion as a gradual training of man's best nature, and delighted to present the scheme of salvation as a divine education of humanity. And so he gives us constant evidence of his high estimate of the value of true education, and doubtless reflects in this habitual standpoint the experience and indebtedness of his own youth. It was indeed no slight advantage for one of Clement's temperament to grow from childhood to man's estate in the Athens of the Antonine period. The Emperor Hadrian had done much to restore the external beauties of the city. Many a temple and many a school owed their inception or restoration to his cultivated fancy. But, beyond these extensive schemes of architecture, he had also spent large sums in providing emoluments for professional

[1] "Atticism" was a fashion of the period. See Galen, *De ordine librorum suorum*, 5 (Kühn, xix. 60); and Lucian, *Judicium vocalium*, 7.

[2] 86, 87, 826.

teachers, and his example in so furthering the cause of culture had been followed by Antoninus Pius. Further service of like character was done by Marcus Aurelius, who founded several professorial chairs and assigned permanent endowments to education, so repaying for the gain of posterity the debts which he has acknowledged to the guides and instructors of his own youth.

Thus Athens in the years A.D. 150–175 had regained something of her old prestige as "the school of Hellas." If she no longer had a monopoly of education and of culture, at least she had once more resumed a certain primacy in their cause. Men whose interests lay in literature or philosophy delighted to settle in Athens and to become friends or patrons, or at times the critics, of the innumerable sages and professors who thronged her streets and schools. Among this number, well-known figures probably in the days when Clement was a student, would be Herodes Atticus, wealthiest and most liberal benefactor of art, oratory, and learning; Apuleius, who had left Carthage to study philosophy in the lecture-rooms and libraries of the city of Plato; Aulus Gellius, who in his country home in the neighbourhood beguiled the long tedium of winter evenings by a style of literary composition not unlike that of Clement's own principal work; possibly, too, as an old man, Demonax of Cyprus, the pagan philosopher whose character comes so near in many points to the Christian ideal; and finally Lucian from Samosata, charming satirist, universal critic, and most relentless sceptic of his time, who, at the age of forty, had laid aside rhetoric for literature, and whose pages give so vivid and remarkable a picture of the educated world of his day.

In such an environment Clement would pass through the various stages of the educational system of the age,

wearing the white student's gown, lately provided by the generosity of Herodes Atticus in the place of sombre black, and taking the "encyclical training" in its several divisions, music, geometry, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy. From the school he would move on to the higher instruction provided by the discourses of travelling teachers and the lectures of the newly endowed professors. He tells us nothing in his extant works of his earliest teachers. Other instructors, in later days after Clement came over to Christianity, had taken up their task, and of his debt to these he makes frequent acknowledgment. But we find no direct mention of the masters at whose feet he sat in his early student years, though his work bears the abundant impress of this influence. Education, in his own figure, was as a "dye,"[1] in which his whole intellectual nature was steeped and ineradicably tinged. Thus the purely Greek environment of his pre-Christian youth left its influence till the end. Of rhetoric and the traditional craft and skill of the trained speaker he had often hard things to say. The gift of speech had been frequently put to uses so poor and base by the professional debaters of the age, that the reaction of the Christian writers from its unreality was an entirely wholesome protest. Yet, with all his professed dislike of its affectations, Clement never escaped from his early rhetorical training, and his style as a writer bears the evident mark and impress of the oratorical practice of the schools. His thoughts are usually more simple than his words, and to the last a certain verbose artificiality characterises his written books, and must have been perceptible enough when he lectured to students in Alexandria. This he owed in part to his early environment in Athens, and it was the least valuable gift he received from his birthplace and "Alma Mater."

[1] 792.

But Athens gave him better things than rhetoric, for it must have been in these student days that he also learned to recognise the value of philosophy and to love the literature of Greece. These interests became permanent elements in his nature. It is probable enough that, like Justin, Aristides, and Athenagoras, he retained the philosopher's cloak when he came over to Christianity. It is certain that all his life he remained a man of books. His favourite theme, that the world was prepared by Greek philosophy for the Christian religion, had its origin and counterpart in his own intellectual and spiritual development; and, as he moved in the receptive years of opening manhood among the many representatives of the various philosophic schools, he acquired that eclectic and assimilative temper of mind, which was so marked a feature of his later teaching and of his characteristic point of view. From all the schools, Platonic, Stoic, Cynic, Pythagorean, and even from that of Epicurus,[1] he had something to gain, and, save the last mentioned, he abandoned none of them when he found his permanent resting-place within the Church. No man of his age knew better than Clement what philosophy could give and where philosophy fell short. And, in so far as he had learned this in his student days, Athens rendered him a great and abiding service.

Finally, it must have been in this period of his life that Clement laid the foundations of that remarkably wide knowledge of the literature of the Hellenic world. With Latin a man of his culture could hardly be altogether unacquainted. Once he refers to Varro,[2] and among the historians whose writings on the affairs of Rome were familiar to him, some possibly used the imperial speech.[3] But whoever wrote in the Greek language was Clement's

[1] 436–7.
[2] 41, but the reference may be indirect.
[3] 406, 409.

friend, and no man can have been more entirely at home than he in the great libraries of Athens or Alexandria or other cities of the East. If we may again reconstruct his student life from our knowledge of his later years, he must have been an untiring reader, possessing himself of a learning more wide perhaps than deep, acquiring, after the fashion of his age, much of his information through collections, at second-hand. For he sought knowledge rather than style, and was never keenly sensitive to the beauties of literary expression, though he had his favourite authors, Homer clearly being first among them. But the range of his learning was truly astonishing, and while the years had much to add, since to the last he remained a student, the permanent tendency to seek for the scholar's knowledge and to live in a world of books must have been already acquired before he became a Christian. In other words, the explanation of his many-sided culture, that "πολυμάθεια ἐμπρέπουσα,"[1] which later writers so universally recognise, must be sought first in the environment of school and university. Athens so set her mark upon him, and he retained it to the end.

Biographers of Clement have sometimes stated that before his conversion to Christianity he was admitted by the customary rites to the Mysteries of Eleusis.[2] The statement rests indeed on inference rather than on any explicit mention of his initiation, but the probability is sufficiently strong to justify some consideration of the influence which these solemn ceremonies and their mystic teaching may well have exerted upon Clement's religious development. The Eleusinian mysteries probably had their beginnings in the

[1] Photius, Cod., 110.

[2] The evidence is carefully considered by C. Hontoir in an article "Comment Clément d'Alexandrie a connu les Mystères d'Eleusis," in *Le Musée Belge*, April, 1905. For a different view see Bratke's article in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1887, pp. 647 *sqq*.

early rites of primitive nature worship, and their innermost secrets are still largely matters of conjecture. But when much else in the creed of Paganism had lost its vitality and appeal, it is clear that the mysteries still retained an extraordinary measure of attractive power. Their solemn terrors had made Nero draw back after requesting initiation. Marcus Aurelius, at a date when Clement was probably in Athens, had entered the innermost shrine of the great temple in solitary wonder.[1] Enough is known of their significance to prove that the mysteries made their appeal principally to the emotions and the imagination, to the conscience and the sense of religious awe. A certain secrecy, a high demand for the purification of life from moral evil, some assurance of a divine power that could save, and, especially, some manner of guarantee concerning the unseen world, were among the better elements of the mystic teaching. It is probable, as already remarked, that Clement went through all the various stages of initiation. He would take his part in the lesser mysteries by the banks of the Ilissus. Then, after completing two years' discipline, he would carry his lighted torch in the solemn procession along the sacred way to Eleusis : there he would make his oblation, and eat the sacramental cake, and finally be led by the Mystagogue from the outer darkness into the brilliantly lighted sanctuary, where the holy secrets were revealed to those whose purification was at length fulfilled.

Few of his pre-Christian experiences were more permanent in their influence on Clement's thought. With the rites of Isis and of Mithra he can hardly fail to have been familiar, but they made no such impression on him as the mysteries of Eleusis. It is true that later in his life he poured scorn and ridicule upon their base and trivial elements, that he held up the obscenities of Demeter's story to obloquy,

[1] Capitolinus, *Vita*, 27.

and called her ritual childish and absurd. Such an attitude was natural and almost inevitable in one who had left Paganism for the Church, but there were other portions of the mystic teaching which he retained and evidently felt to be of value, even after his conversion. Like other early Christian writers he makes frequent use, especially in reference to the Sacraments, of a terminology which was borrowed from the mysteries. And some of his deepest thoughts—the idea of an inner revelation which is only for the few, the recognition of the moral law that purification is the preliminary condition of all true vision, the conception of One who has power to lead men from the outer darkness into light—are undoubtedly coloured by the teaching and ceremonies of Eleusis. This is not the place for further reference to the details of his teaching: it is enough to point out the evidence, which his pages abundantly afford, that among the more permanent and important influences of his earlier life must be reckoned his passage through the various stages of mystic initiation, and the strange attraction which the shrine and worship of Eleusis exerted upon him, as upon many others of the more cultured spirits of his time. The most obvious results of the years spent before his conversion in Athens are his philosophy and his love of learning. Second to these is a certain mystic strain which runs through all his teaching. This was undoubtedly developed and augmented by later Christian influences, but its origin and first beginnings can hardly be found elsewhere than in the vast and ancient temple of the wandering Goddess, whose story and ritual were so well known an element in the religion of Athens and indeed, at that time, of the Græco-Roman world.

Clement's conversion to Christianity must have occurred during the years of his early manhood, and in all probability while he was still in Athens. That he came over from

heathendom to the Church is made clear by the several passages in which he includes himself among the number of those who had made this momentous transition, who, in his own phrase, had taken "the noble risk" of a "desertion unto God."[1] He was not then born in Christian surroundings, nor can he have left his earlier manner of life until he was sufficiently advanced in years for his nature to have taken the permanent impress of those purely Hellenic influences which have already been considered. On the other hand, he was clearly already a Christian when he left Athens, for all the teachers whose instruction he sought in the subsequent period of his travels were men who had the "apostolic" message to hand on.[2] He may have been twenty years of age, less or more, when he found rest and light in the communion of the Christian society.

Perhaps before this time he had hardly seen the new faith at its best, for the Church in Athens had fallen on evil days, and the lives and ways of believers had so degenerated as to be barely distinguishable from those of the surrounding world.[3] About A.D. 170, martyrdom relieved the Bishop, Publius by name, of the task which had proved so difficult. His successor, Quadratus, was a stronger man, and his efforts were crowned by a great revival and rekindling of Christian zeal, sufficiently evident to deserve the welcome and commendation of Dionysius, the Bishop of the neighbouring Church of Corinth. This fuller tide of common Christian life may have caught Clement in its current. In any case it deserves mention that his own conversion to Christianity probably coincided with a period of renewal in the Church at Athens, never perhaps one of the most favoured or most devoted of the early societies of the faithful.

But it is more probable that the personal influence of some

[1] 4, 69, 75, and other passages in the *Protrepticus*.
[2] 322–3. [3] H.E., iv. 23.

particular teacher was the immediate cause of Clement's conversion. At the head of the list of his Christian masters [1] is an unnamed Ionian whom he met in Greece, and under whose guidance it is possible that Clement took the eventful step. It has been suggested that this teacher was Athenagoras, and though the suggestion cannot be proved, it is not improbable.[2] Athenagoras, at any rate, was believed by Philip of Side to have had Clement as his pupil. He is also known to have been connected with Athens. Not a few similarities may be discerned between his Apology and Clement's *Protrepticus*. Both were essentially Christian philosophers. To him, then, or to some other "Elder," Clement may have been indebted for much counsel and instruction in the days when he came over from Paganism to the Church.

Yet we must not assign too great a share of influence to the hand which led him across the threshold, for, indeed, the causes of his conversion were of a deeper and more inward nature, and, however great the debt he acknowledges to his masters, the pathway of his religious development was not of their making but his own. The motives which he regarded as most likely to determine educated Greeks to accept Christianity are still to be found in the pages of the *Protrepticus*. It can hardly be doubted that his own experience has coloured the whole of this interesting treatise, and that it is the appeal of a Greek to the educated Hellenic world, inviting men of his own kind to follow him on a road he well remembers having trodden himself. Tired and dissatisfied, like many another spirit of his age, with the impurities and absurdities of pagan mythology, finding no divinity in the ancient legends, and concluding finally that "Zeus was dead;"[3] then gaining much from philosophy

[1] 322. [2] Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, 163.
[3] "Τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεύς," 32.

yet never able to find spiritual rest in any of its many schools, Clement is so brought to consider what it is that Christianity can offer him and whether its gifts are such as to justify a breach with the old traditions and his ancestral mode of life. Conversion was perhaps as natural and untroubled to Clement as to any of the educated heathen who found their way within the Church's doors. He does not seem to have had gross sins to surrender. Great renunciations were not apparently involved. And the things he had found most precious in Paganism he took over with him in abundant measure for use and enjoyment in a new allegiance. There is no sort of parallel between Clement's conversion and the stress and pain of the transition as Saint Augustine knew it. Even Justin Martyr, with whose experience that of Clement is rightly compared, was probably more conscious of a break and a contrast with his past. And, though Clement knew by experience that it is not an easy matter to relinquish the customs of our fathers,[1] it is clear that, in the main, Christianity was for him attained by advance and progress, as the further stage of an even and gradual spiritual evolution, rather than by any hard-fought battle with his own nature, or by any painful and irrevocable abandonment of what had once been prized and dear. He is not brought to the Cross by a sense of sin. He is rather led by his desire for clearer vision into the light of day. His Baptism brought illumination rather than forgiveness, and all his past experience had prepared him to recognise in Christianity the true goal of the human spirit's quest. The roads which lead to the Kingdom of God are very diverse. The number is not large of those who reach it by so even and direct a pathway as that by which Clement travelled, to find, with his life's

[1] 72.

work still before him, rest and content of spirit in a new environment.

Then followed a period of travel which must have extended over many years. His journeys from city to city were not undertaken merely for the purpose of seeing the world, nor were they similar in intention to the "Wanderjahre" of the German student. It was an established custom for the sons of cultured and wealthy families to move from place to place, with the sole aim of acquiring knowledge from the great teachers of their time. Clement himself refers to this common practice:[1] these "journeys for the sake of instruction," these "sojourns across the sea," were a recognised phase of education, and a similar interest may be discerned in the travels of more exalted persons, notably of the Emperors themselves. With this motive Clement spent considerable time in seeking out the masters of Christianity, and their teaching was in after years one of his prized possessions. What the "Elders" said and did was treasured in the memory of their pupil, and the high estimate he placed on their instruction makes us the more regret that we can no longer discover these ancient masters' names. Clement may have had some motive for leaving them unmentioned. Zahn is of opinion that we must not identify them with any of the known Christian writers of the period, on the ground that Clement expressly says that these "Elders" gave oral instruction, but did not commit their teaching to the written book.[2] This rule, indeed, breaks down in the case of Pantænus, the one teacher in the list who can be identified with certainty, for we can hardly discredit the direct statement of Eusebius as to his authorship.[3] But it may hold good with this exception, and their names have so been lost,

[1] 86, 429. [2] Zahn, *op. cit.*, 164; *cp. Eclogæ Propheticæ*, 996.
[3] H.E., v. 10. Pantænus taught ζώσῃ φωνῇ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων.

while those of men of lower calibre have been perpetuated because their writings had the fortune to survive. It is possible, too, that Clement set a higher value on the masters, who found in him so enthusiastic a pupil, than the later settled verdict of the Church could entirely endorse. But of his personal indebtedness there is no question: he could find no stronger commendation for the greatest literary undertaking of his life than to claim that it reflected the brilliant and inspired lessons which he had been privileged to hear from the blessed and distinguished teachers of his youth.[1]

The treasure which he so acquired was the motive of his years of travel, and it carried him in many directions. It seems he first turned westwards, reaching lower Italy or "Magna Græcia." No organised Christian community is known to have existed in this region, south of Naples, up to A.D. 180,[2] yet it was somewhere here that he came in contact with two teachers who were sowing "apostolic seed." One of them was a Syrian, the other came from Egypt, and from both of them he had much to learn. The question naturally arises why, having come so far, he did not go on to Rome. His pupil, Origen, was afterwards drawn thither by his desire to see that "most ancient Church of the Romans,"[3] but for one reason or another Clement seems never to have made his way to the great centre of imperial life. He might have found Pope Soter sending out the wealthy Church's liberality to the confessors in the mines, or even have discussed Montanism with his successor, Eleutherus.[4] But the West never attracted Clement, and he had no love of great cities, though he was later to spend many years in one of them.

[1] 322.
[2] See Map 1 in Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*.
[3] H.E., vi. 14. [4] H.E., iv. 23; v. 3.

For whatever reason, he turned again to the East, where he seems to have remained longer and to have moved more frequently from one centre of Church life to another.

Here, too, he sat at the feet of various masters. One among them was an Assyrian ; another, whom he met in Palestine, was of Hebrew birth. It has been thought that this Assyrian was Tatian. Certainly Clement knew Tatian's writings,[1] but it is difficult to suppose that he would have venerated as master one who saw in philosophy only a clever means of making money.[2] He may have journeyed as far as Edessa and met a kindred spirit in Bardaisan. He must almost certainly have been in Antioch, where he was to come again in later life. After many journeys, spiritually and intellectually the richer by contact with many teachers, he came at last to Alexandria, not, it would seem, with any intention of making this second city of the Empire his permanent resting-place, but with the hope that here, as elsewhere, he might add to his gathered stores. There he met with Pantænus, the greatest of all his masters, and so opened an intimacy which endured happy and unbroken for upwards of twenty years.

Pantænus, it seems, was a Sicilian by birth and had come over from Stoicism to the Church. Considerable study in the tenets of many philosophies, and a wide acquaintance with heretical doctrine, gave him a peculiar fitness for aiding the many educated inquirers who sought his guidance. He was the first great teacher of the famous Catechetical School, which in its earliest stages seems to have depended more upon the personal influence of its head than upon official recognition and support. It was only gradually coming into prominence when Clement arrived in Alexandria, but it had to offer exactly the environment in which his intellectual nature was most likely to reach a fruit-

[1] See 378, 548, and elsewhere. [2] Tatian, *Orat. adv. Græc.*, 25.

ful maturity. Pantænus was remembered in later life by Clement as "our Pantænus,"[1] and by another old pupil as "a helper of many."[2] He seems to have known Hebrew, and, like other Alexandrines, to have escaped by allegorical interpretation from some of the difficulties of Scripture. He must have combined in an unusual degree the qualities of sweetness and light, and yet without any loss of earnest zeal, for he had travelled eastwards on a missionary journey, making his way among some Oriental people sufficiently remote for Eusebius afterwards to refer to them as "Indians."[3] He is said to have found here a copy of Saint Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew, brought by Bartholomew the Apostle and still preserved among the believers of the East. Then he settled in Alexandria, being already established as a teacher there by the year A.D. 180, when Marcus Aurelius died and Julian succeeded Agrippinus as Bishop of the See.

At that date, approximately, Clement must have come to Alexandria, but there are some chronological difficulties in determining his subsequent relations with Pantænus. The death of the latter cannot have occurred till nearly the close of the century, for Origen, who was fifteen years of age or slightly older in A.D. 200, was among his pupils. Yet his life had evidently closed before the first book of the *Stromateis* was written, and at a date sufficiently anterior to the persecution of Severus in A.D. 202, to admit of Clement's fame as head of the school becoming established in the intervening years. It is probable that Clement was first the pupil of Pantænus and that he then assisted him in the conduct and oversight of the school.[4] Such a division of duties again took place when Origen summoned his old

[1] 1002. [2] H.E., vi. 19. [3] H.E., v. 10.

[4] *Cp.* H.E., v. 11; Ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς συνασκούμενος. The preposition is probably significant.

pupil, Heraclas, to share his growing burdens.[1] It may be that in the latter years of this period, about A.D. 190 to 200, the growing fame and rising ability of Clement gradually made him a more powerful influence than his master. Alexander, who learned from both teachers, thought Clement the greater man.[2] The position may well have been one to admit of personal jealousies and rivalries. No slight measure of credit is due to the unselfish generosity of Pantænus and not less to the loyal affection of his younger colleague, when we recognise, as even the scant available evidence enables us to do, that no personal bitterness broke through the concord of their relationships, and that side by side, till death left the younger man alone, they co-operated in their task of ministry to inquiring souls.

It is only in its general features that Clement's career in Alexandria can be described. His twenty years of residence there have permanently associated his name with the city in which he found Pantænus, and his work as a teacher in the Catechetical School has been of lasting service in the development of Christian theology. But his own personal life had probably few eventful chapters and, though we know Clement himself somewhat intimately from his writings, we can recover little of incident or colour from the meagre records of his peaceful history. One or two general deductions from our knowledge of the man and his environment are all that is possible, when we ask how his years in Alexandria were spent.

It is clear, to begin with, that in his outward circumstances he was untrammelled by poverty, and that he must not be pictured either as the poor student or as the struggling teacher anxious for his fees. He knew the affluent life of a great commercial city from its inner

[1] H.E., vi. 15. [2] H.E., vi. 11, 14.

side, nor do we ever hear that he was dependent on the liberality of any patron. Besides, his whole attitude towards wealth is that of one who knows not only its grave moral dangers but also the value of its immunity from many cares. He was a convinced optimist, always believing that the world was ordered well. Both Philosophy and Christianity taught him this lesson. Yet we may wonder how far the possession of an adequate patrimony made the lesson less difficult to learn. Thus his career as a teacher did not present itself to him on his arrival in Alexandria as a matter of livelihood, and till five-and-thirty years or older he may have remained a student and a learner, possibly passing from his master's lectures to share the incessant discussions in the debating hall of the great Museum, or to unroll more volumes in the splendid library. At home, in his own house, he must have worked late into many a night, for his delightful picture of how winter evenings should be spent can hardly be drawn from any other source than his own mode of life.[1] So he would read and learn, and know in middle age the student's joy in learning: "πόνῳ δὲ ἕπεται γλυκεῖα εὕρεσίς τε καὶ μνήμη."[2]

It is impossible to say by what stages the student became the master, nor need we stay to ask whether his interest lay more truly with the books in his library or with the pupils in his lecture-room. Like many another man of his type, he knew that "one learns more by teaching and often listens among one's own pupils as one speaks."[3] His greatest extant work is at once a private note-book for the aid of memory in later life and an argument for Christianity intended for thoughtful Greeks. In Alexandria there was not any building specially devoted to the purposes of Christian instruction, and Clement probably taught in his own house. His hearers would be principally of adult

[1] 219. [2] 888. [3] 323.

years, evidently Greeks in the majority of cases, women being allowed to attend as well as men.[1] The instruction would be varied according to the stage of his hearers' progress, for inquirers were welcome as well as those who had made their decision for Christianity. How far Clement's extant writings represent the substance of his lectures is an interesting but difficult question. The *Protrepticus* and the *Pædagogus* clearly owe their origin to his task of instruction in the school, but the question of the *Stromateis* is more complex and must be left open for the present. He can hardly have been other than a discursive lecturer, and his hearers must have been frequently led into fields widely remote from the particular subject with which the discussion had commenced. But his learning and sincerity gave him influence, and doubtless many old pupils in later days looked back, like Bishop Alexander, with grateful memory to his aid. The strange thing is that Origen, a later pupil than the Bishop, makes no reference in any of his numerous surviving writings to his master. His silence is puzzling when we contrast Clement's affectionate references to Pantænus. Differences may have arisen between the two men after Clement left Alexandria, but the fact remains that Origen, with all his greatness, owed more than he probably knew to his teacher and predecessor.

The head of the Catechetical School was not in all cases an ordained minister of the Church, but Clement received the priesthood some time during his stay in Alexandria,[2] though he would seem to have been less under episcopal supervision than his successors. Demetrius had followed Julian as

[1] It was so in Origen's time. H.E., vi. 4.

[2] He was ποιμήν, 120; πρεσβύτερος, H.E., vi. 11; ἱερεύς, *Chronicon Paschale* 7 (Migne, vol. xcii. 81); even ἐπίσκοπος, according to late authority, Holl, *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter*, 315.

Bishop of Alexandria in A.D. 189. He was a man of somewhat assertive character, but Clement was the senior in years and already established in his position when Demetrius was appointed to the see. So he probably thought it wiser to leave Clement to follow his own pathway: it is perhaps significant that he appears to have made no effort to induce the distinguished teacher to return to Alexandria when once he had left the city. Yet Clement's life there was not exclusively devoted to study and instruction: it had its pastoral side. He includes himself among the number of those who were "shepherds" of the flock of Christ,[1] and there is in much of his writings, more especially in the *Protrepticus* and the *Quis Dives Salvetur*, a warmth of feeling and a care for souls which are very far removed from the dry intellectualism of purely academic theology. When he comes to discuss the character of the Christian Gnostic, he reiterates the principle that no advance in spiritual vision can liberate us from the duty of ministry to our brother's need,[2] and his personal life in Alexandria had surely been in accordance with his teaching.

How far, among the crowded population of the great city, his love of the scholar's quiet and seclusion gave way to the tastes and habits of the man who lives in and knows the world, is an interesting question likely to remain without any certain answer. In common with other Christians he evidently avoided the play—for "what base deed is not exhibited in the theatres?"[3]—and had a horror of the degrading brutality of the spectacles which roused the delight and frenzy of the mob. Still, he knew the ways of the world by experience as well as through his books: his genial nature and his love of a good story must have made him pleasant company, and he probably lived upon his own favourite principle that

[1] 120. [2] See chapter xiv., *infra*. [3] 298, 852.

all material advantages have their place and use in life's order, as well as their danger and liability to excess. In the main, however, he loved the ways of quiet and retirement more. The unrestrained licence of city life often filled him with disgust:[1] the throng of humanity in the law-courts, in the council chamber, or the assembly, burdened and oppressed his spirit, and his ideal Christian has no love for the interests which absorb the multitude, but rather seeks, even in the great city, an inward isolation which is not incomparable to the solitude of the desert. His twenty years in Alexandria were the most useful and probably the happiest years of his life. He was not a man to make enemies, and in temperament he was singularly free from moods of dejection or discontent. He had the detachment, to which real learning does not invariably attain, from feuds and personalities and the minor complexities of existence. In this spirit he learned and taught, leaving his mark on Christian theology and conferring the prestige of his learning upon the Catechetical School. How many inquiring souls in the great Eastern metropolis of thought he guided by the way as he knew it to Christ as he understood the Christ, will only be known when the labourers are summoned and paid their hire.

Clement's work in Alexandria was terminated by the outbreak of persecution under Severus in A.D. 202.[2] The immediate cause of this is not recorded, and on many grounds it is a matter of surprise to find Severus among the persecutors. Clement's own success in making converts may not impossibly have been a contributory reason. In any case, whatever its origin, the persecution opened fiercely enough.[3] Leonides, Origen's father, was among the victims, and many more were sent from different parts of Egypt to meet their doom in Alexandria. Clement had to consider

[1] 264–5, 878, 927. [2] See Appendix I. [3] H.E., vi. 1.

his own line of action. He often speaks in terms of the highest praise of the courage and self-sacrifice of the martyr. On the other hand, he was too wise not to see the moral danger of the ill-judged passion for martyrdom, which even in so noble a character as Ignatius never merits our commendation without reserve. The extreme penalty, he knew, should not be sought, and he was familiar with the text, so often quoted in days of trial, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another."[1] This, for his own case, he felt was right. He would almost certainly have fallen a victim had he remained in Alexandria, for Lætus the prefect must have known him well. It can hardly be doubted that he left the city and his work there with regret. It is even possible that he expected to come back when the storm was over. Apparently he left never to return. For some time it would have been unsafe for him to do so, and then other hands had taken up the work; and perhaps he realised, after the manner of men who have passed the years of middle age, that in this world it is never possible to go back and find things as they were.

Clement left Alexandria in A.D. 202 or 203. The later years of his life, like the earlier, are only known to us by inference or probability, with the addition of one single glimpse of actual detail.[2] His old pupil, Alexander, who was afterwards to be better known as the coadjutor Bishop of the aged Narcissus in Jerusalem, was occupant for some years of one of the sees in Cappadocia, and a prisoner during part of this period for his faith. Clement paid a visit to his former pupil and to the Church of which he was in charge. He stayed some time and then left, travelling south, on his way to Antioch. Alexander took the opportunity to send by Clement a letter to the Church in the

[1] Contrast Tertullian's (Montanist) views in the *De fuga in persecutione*.

[2] H.E., vi. 11.

Syrian capital, congratulating its members on the selection of Asclepiades as Bishop in succession to Serapion. In its closing words he wrote : "I am sending this by the hand of Clement, the blessed elder, a man whose worth has been put to the proof. You have heard of him and will come to know him better. In the providence and oversight of God he has visited us here and established and increased the Church of the Lord." The letter is somewhat difficult to date with exactness. It is commonly held to have been written about A.D. 211.[1] Yet it would not seem that any long interval had elapsed since Asclepiades' appointment, which would naturally fall soon after 203, if this be correctly given as the year of Serapion's death. Without solving the difficulty, we may take it as probable that some years had elapsed since Clement left Egypt when he carried Alexander's letter to Antioch.

We have to read between the lines of this short extract if we are to allow ourselves any more detailed picture of his life in its later years. Clearly he has turned to familiar country in his retirement, for he had been in the East before. Somewhere or other it is probable that he must have been again within reach of a library, for much of his literary work was in all likelihood accomplished after he had left Alexandria.[2] We wonder whether, like Origen, he settled in Cæsarea, or whether his stay in Antioch was long enough to allow of the *Hypotyposeis* being written there, or whether, when the persecution subsided and Alexander had moved on to Jerusalem, he may have found rest for a period in the Holy City. Some interval of leisure and security must probably be supposed for the literary activity of his later life. Yet the main

[1] See Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, ii. 163 ; and Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, art. "Alexander."

[2] See chapter vi. and Appendix II.

suggestion of Alexander's letter leads our last thoughts of Clement in another direction.

It is an old man we see, perhaps sixty years or more, yet he is still active, moving from place to place, and where he goes the Church of Christ has reason to prize his visits. His former pupil speaks of him with confidence and honour, and implies, perhaps, that he had suffered not a little in the trials of persecution.[1] There is a certain prominence given to his services of a pastoral order. The years perhaps have taught him more of men's ordinary needs, and he may have learned something from his share in the common sufferings of the Church. It is as if in his later days he has turned from the somewhat intellectualised Christianity of the *Stromateis*, and from the spiritual aristocracy of the orthodox Gnosis, to a deeper sympathy with the wants of the Christian body as a whole, as if he has learned in the eventide of his life not to value knowledge less, but to value love the more. Not, indeed, that one of his temperament could in advanced life change his characteristics, but the different elements of his nature possibly gained a more complete harmony with time, and the man we see in Alexander's letter is full of care for others and is bent on fulfilling his ministry to the last. It is a suggestive hint. The teacher of so great learning, who had been intent on bringing the wisdom of the world into the service of Christianity, and had lived assured that the innermost secrets of the Gospel are the exclusive privilege of the illuminated and the wise, as we see him for the last time, is rendering an old man's service to the common faith of the Churches. It is on such a mission that Alexander bids him God-speed and so finally dismisses him from our view.

A few years later Clement's life had run to its close. We know nothing of the manner of his death, but it must

[1] "*δόκιμος*" may well have this sense.

have occurred before A.D. 215, when another letter of Alexander's, addressed to Origen, refers to him as "gone before."[1] Alexander himself is expecting soon to be with him. Traditionally, the date of his death was 4th December, but the tradition only dates from the middle ages.

Such was the story of Clement's life. In a few of its main features it is known to us from his own direct testimony or that of other ancient writers. Beyond these, we can only attempt to reconstruct it upon grounds of probability. It is a biography devoid of incident, for the life of action was never his appointed lot, and no memorable vicissitudes seem to have set their mark upon his peaceful history. The secret of Clement's interest is to be discovered not in the outward circumstances of his career, but in his standpoint and message as a teacher, in the special phase of Christian theology with which it was his task to deal, and in his manner of dealing with it. Compared in point of his personal history with other masters of doctrine, with his pupil Origen or with Athanasius, his life lacks colour and movement and seems strangely devoid, so far as we can recover it, of all eventful details.

Yet even so, Clement's teaching must not be wholly dissociated from his biography, for in some regards the very freedom of his life from incident and outward change proved the enabling and happy condition of influence and result. Certain characteristic features of his story are to be set down on the side of gain, as compensating for the absence of qualities or circumstances which might have attracted greater immediate attention. For in many respects his was not the type of personality that commonly sets its permanent impress upon an age or movement. He had no gift or desire for organisation. By nature he was not a leader. He can hardly have dominated others by personal strength of will,

[1] H.E., vi. 14.

while his liberal orthodoxy and his sweet reasonableness are the very qualities which in days of debate fail to satisfy either side. Moreover, the problem that he set himself to solve proved too great for the range of his powers, and, when he passed away, the new synthesis of the many intellectual elements of his time remained still an unaccomplished and elusive project. These are disabilities of no light moment. Can our imperfect knowledge of his biography suggest any aspects of his outward life which may assist us in the attempt to explain the measure of his undoubted influence?

Clearly he owed much to the comparative freedom of his life from controversy. Both within the Church and outside it there were many who differed from him, but the difference did not rise to acute hostility nor really interrupt the even tenor of his career. The aggressive or fanatical temper were never Clement's, and his love of the things of peace had its result in his circumstances. Thus, if he did not compel, neither did he alienate, and his power of appeal must have been stronger because he was never called upon to challenge opposition or stand alone against the world. His life has no element of struggle or bitterness in it, and though his convictions were far more clear and positive than is often supposed, they never appear to have involved him in the acrimonies of theological debate. It is easy to realise that inquiring and wavering souls may have been drawn more readily to such a type of teacher than to one whose standpoint was assertive and antithetic, and whose public *rôle* was that of the champion and controversialist.

Again, he owed much of his effectiveness to his singleness of aim. His peaceful career owed its consistency in no small measure to its evident freedom from personal ambitions. To discover and impart truth seems to have been the permanent interest of his life. Hence the uneventful

character of his biography and its entire exemption from notorious publicity are really the symptoms of a sustained purpose, the concomitants and conditions of a certain real success. His happy relations with Pantænus are sufficiently suggestive ; and when Clement became head of the Catechetical School, what he valued must have been the opportunity rather than the mere position. His career lay quite apart from the world of ecclesiastical politics, and the religious teacher is perhaps fortunate who has this freedom and is able to concentrate undivided energies upon his single and distinctive task.

Yet with this unity of purpose was combined an unusual variety of experience. Circumstances permitted him to travel, while education in Athens and a twenty years' residence in Alexandria brought him into contact with men of all countries and all varieties of belief, character, and occupation. The constant defect of the scholar is that he does not understand human nature. Clement, with all his knowledge and love of books, was delivered by the circumstances of his career from this limitation. So his personality, as well as his learning, was free to exert its influence, and we get occasional glimpses of a large-hearted sympathy in his nature which is rarely found in the mere student, and which must be developed, if not acquired, by personal intercourse with men of many types. Certain elements in Clement's teaching point to the ideal of the ascetic and recluse. Such a strain must have existed also in his character, but it never became his predominant tendency, nor did it drive him from the domain of common human interests. His influence was unquestionably greater because he so combined in an exceptional degree the student's unwavering purpose with a manifold experience of the world. The restlessness and movement of his age, its extraordinary facilities for intellectual intercourse, its abundant variety of ideas, had their

result in a certain superficiality which is not without its reflection in Clement's own work and character. But they at least secured for him a wide acquaintance with many phases of temperament and conviction. His personal circumstances set upon his nature the mark of his period, and he ministered to the wants of a shifting transitional generation with the more success, because in the uneventful journey of his life he had sat at the feet of many masters, and known the minds of many men, and observed how much philosophy could do for students in Athens, how passion and excitement would sway the crowded audience in the theatre, how Christian martyrs could go bravely to their end, and how fair ladies loved to walk arrayed upon the crowded thoroughfares of Alexandria.

In such ways the outward course of Clement's personal history may well have contributed to the central and serious purpose of his life. If we revert for a moment to its distinctive character, Clement's biography is essentially that of the first great Christian scholar.[1] Later writers were guided by a true instinct when they spoke of him before all else as the man of learning. It is a new type of service which with Clement takes its place within the Christian Church, but never since has this type been altogether wanting. The succession has been carried on through Origen, his greatest pupil ; through such labours as those of Saint Jerome or Saint Bede ; through learned monks in the night of the Dark Ages ; through the scholars of the Church, sometimes more scholarly than spiritual, in the awakening period of the Renaissance. So, from such familiar names as Colet and Erasmus, we pass to learned Bishops, in days when Bishops had time for learning ; to the studious leisure of parish priests in their remote parsonages ; to the

[1] He was "the earliest of the Greek Fathers who were especially conspicuous for learning."—J. E. Sandys, *loc. cit.*

more recent and debated work of German criticism, and to the names of teachers who have left their mark upon the studies of a university. The lives and labours of such men have their primary example in the scanty biography of Clement of Alexandria. They are often outwardly uneventful. They win their recognition slowly, as Pantænus was "hidden" when Clement found him. They frequently miss, probably for their gain, the constant publicity which great leaders, great controversialists, great ecclesiastical statesmen, always endure or enjoy. They are most Christian and most effective when they rise, as Clement did, above all personal ambitions to the disinterested quest of truth and light, and they render no greater service than when they prevent the divorce of sound learning from true religion, or meet the needs of inquiring souls in ages of intellectual unrest. To such ministry was Clement called at the close of the second century. Since then the years have come and gone, and Christianity, like other things, has changed with time. Yet the Church's need of these lives and of their especial service grows not less but more, as fuller and ever fuller measure of significance falls to the old words, "Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia."

CHAPTER II

ALEXANDRIA

Christianity had its origin in Galilee, and the natural environment of its Founder's life and ministry was the village and the countryside. So soon as the scene changed, and the new Religion attempted to win its way among the people of a city, albeit that city was Jerusalem, the most religious city in the world, there occurs its apparently complete overthrow and the tragedy of the Cross. To "go up to Jerusalem," to pass from the country to the town, had been a transition involving, as Jesus Himself foresaw, this inevitable cost. The transition, once made, however, was made finally and without possibility of return. When Christianity had attained maturity and passed beyond its centuries of growth, the historian has to recognise, as among its most obvious features, that the new religion was "a religion of towns and cities"; and that "the larger the town or city, the larger (even relatively, it is probable) was the number of the Christians."[1] For better or worse, the Faith has never gone back to Galilee, nor does the Christian world of our own age seem likely to fulfil the suggestion of M. Renan by building a common shrine for all its divided branches on the summit of the hills surrounding Nazareth.[2]

[1] Harnack, *Mission*, ii. 327.
[2] *Vie de Jésus*, 30.

Hence it comes that most of the Church's early guides and leaders are still distinguished for us by the town or city in which their principal activity had its scope. This was, of course, especially true of the Episcopate, for the Bishops from the first belonged not to a district, but to the city which was the centre of its life, Ignatius to Antioch, Melito to Sardis, and the like. But the principle held good even for other offices, pre-eminently for the Christian teacher, whether priest or layman. It was always in the centres of population that the conditions were most favourable to his task. So Tertullian's name remains permanently associated with Carthage; Justin and Origen were men of many towns; and Clement, born elsewhere, dying elsewhere, belonged to Alexandria for the most important twenty years of his working life. His name has ever since been rightly connected with this, the greatest city of the eastern half of the Roman Empire. No account of Clement would be even tolerably complete which did not attempt to portray the life of the great and complex community, in the midst of which he had found shelter and opportunity. The influence which Alexandria exerted upon his career and work must, in any case, have been considerable.

It was no very ancient city in which Clement settled down when he had met Pantænus. Its story, unlike that of Athens his earlier home, ran up into no legendary past, and while the land of Egypt could boast of an antiquity for which men knew no parallel, and traditionally regarded all the Greeks as children, its chief city, Alexandria, was by strange contrast one of the most modern cities of the ancient world. Five hundred years before Clement arrived there, Alexander the Great had detected the possibilities of the bare, low-lying strip of sandy coast, which lay between the shelter of the island of Pharos and the waters of the Mareotic

Lake. So the city had been conceived and its lines drawn out after the symmetrical plans of Deinocrates, the architect. Where before there had been only the waste and the waters and the insignificant hamlet of Rhacotis, there grew up, with all the rapidity which royal resources could command, a great and fair habitation, which was to aid in perpetuating through the centuries the memory of its victorious founder's name. Alexandria indeed was, as Mommsen remarks, like Antioch, a "monarchical creation out of nothing."[1] It passed, on the death of the conqueror, into the hands of the Ptolemies. Under their rule its population and its commerce grew extensively; its fine buildings were multiplied; above all, it acquired a Museum and a library and a type of culture peculiarly its own. But the earlier Ptolemies were better and stronger rulers than their successors, and hardly more than a century after Alexander's death, partly through the weakness of the government, partly through the growth of Roman power in the Mediterranean, the city began to lose its political independence, falling more and more with each turn of events under the influence or protection of the dominant state. The line of the Ptolemies went on; indeed, it ceased only with Cleopatra. But, other reasons apart, the very importance of Alexandria, as the chief city of Egypt, made it impossible for Rome to be indifferent to its fortunes. So great and influential a place could not for long remain dissociated from the main course of events. Thus, when the long turmoil of the civil war was over, after Pompey, Antony, and Cæsar had each in turn claimed it as an important asset in their several struggles for the mastery of the world, Alexandria passed finally in 30 B.C. into the hands of Augustus to become, as it still was in Clement's time, the second city of the Roman Empire, and even, had the Empire

[1] *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 262 (E. T.).

been divided into West and East, a possible rival to Rome.[1]

Thus it was no mean city in which Clement had made his home. Little as he loved crowds and noise, he can hardly fail at times to have been conscious of a certain greatness in his immediate environment. It is possible to realise some elements of this from our various available sources of information. The plan and situation of the city, its population, its commerce, its institutions, its culture, are all worth some measure of consideration. To understand his surroundings is in part to understand Clement.

The little island of Pharos had been well known to the mariners of the Homeric world.[2] Ulysses and his comrades had been detained here many weary days by contrary winds. It lay a mile away from a strip of the Egyptain coast, with which in later years it was connected by a mole or causeway, known from its length as the Heptastadium. Behind the island's shelter were the finest harbours to be found in the whole stretch of the Mediterannean coast line from Tyre to Carthage. In Vergilian phrase :

> " Insula portum
> Efficit objectu laterum."

And if the island made the harbour, the harbour made Alexandria. The city, cloak-shaped, four miles in length and more than one in width, lay along the line of the coast. It was divided into five districts, or, more conveniently, into three several areas, according to the nationality of the inhabitants, Greek, Jewish, or native Egyptian. Its streets were broad and well planned ; the widest of them

[1] The proposal was seriously made in Clement's lifetime. Herodian, iv. 3, 7 ; *cf.* the inscription quoted by Harnack, *Hist. Dog.*, ii. 150—

> Θρέψε μ' Ἀλεξάνδρεια, μέτοικον ἔθαψε δὲ Ῥώμη,
> Αἱ κόσμου καὶ γῆς, ὦ ξένε, μητροπόλεις.

[2] *Odyss.*, iv. 354.

was over one hundred feet in width, and wheeled vehicles could be driven along them all. Of the two principal thoroughfares the shorter continued the roadway from the Heptastadium southwards, to the gateway of the Sun. The longer crossed this at right angles and ran east and west through the city's whole extent. The houses, judged by the ancient standards of accommodation, were large and elaborately furnished, as those of a rich mercantile community are apt to be. On the whole the population was less crowded than in Rome.[1] The water supply was excellent. Out of the somewhat confined and restricted site the builder and the architect had made undoubtedly the most.

The two harbours were known respectively as the "Great Harbour" and the "Harbour of Happy Return." Along their quays—the Mediterranean be it remembered has hardly any tide—the largest vessels could anchor at a gangway's distance,[2] and there were granaries and warehouses for the accommodation of abundant merchandise. From the western harbour ran a canal, which united it with the Mareotic Lake and so with the river Nile, and herein lay the whole secret of Alexandria's unrivalled position, for her prosperity depended on the fact that she linked the great midland sea with the interior, and also with the lands and waters of the East. The port was thus a great and natural thoroughfare for trade, and from the days of Augustus onwards claimed an ever-growing proportion of the traffic between the oriental and the western worlds. Alexandria had also, as it has to-day, the advantage of an excellent climate, for the flooding of the Nile delivered it in the summer from the evils of stagnant

[1] Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, i. 6 ; *cp.* the account of the possessions of Flaccus, Philo, *in Flaccum*, 18. But it was the public, not the private, buildings of the city which most attracted attention.

[2] ἐπὶ κλίμακος ὁρμεῖν, Strabo, xvii. 1.

water, while northerly breezes and the proximity of the sea tempered the oppressive heat: ἡ δ' εὐκαιρία πολύτροπος, was the comment of an old traveller with ample justification.[1]

Such was the city. What of the people? The population may, including slaves, have numbered three quarters of a million, Alexandria being smaller than Rome, but larger than Antioch or any other city of the Empire. Men of all races and of all callings found their place in this great focus of nationalities.[2] The eastern trader was there, the Roman official, the itinerant philosopher, the unpopular Jew. The native population was no doubt the largest element. It had its own inferior franchise and also, in Mommsen's judgment, its own considerable virtues.[3] To the Greek community in Alexandria these people of the soil afforded the higher kinds of labour, and also an inexhaustible source of ridicule through such religious eccentricities as the cult of the cat and the crocodile. Of the Jewish element much is known, especially through the pages of Philo. A million Jews are said to have lived in Egypt; and in Alexandria two out of the five districts were reckoned to be theirs.[4] They were governed by their own Arabarch, an office once filled by Philo's brother; they had their own council, their own immunities, and, by a decree of the city's founder, with which the Cæsars had not interfered, equal rights of citizenship with the Greeks.[5] Alexandrine Judaism was one of the intellectual forces of the first century, and it is a notable evidence of its religious coherence that in Alexandria we hear little of Jewish Christianity. After the fall of Jerusalem the city was the most

[1] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[2] For the mixture of races in Alexandria, see especially Dion Chrysostom, *Or.*, xxxii.

[3] *Provinces*, ii. 258–9.

[4] Philo, *in Flaccum*, 6.

[5] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 18, 7.

important centre of Jewish life, as even previously it had been the most populous and wealthy. Persecution and anti-Jewish tumults were correspondingly frequent and severe.

But it was, of course, neither with the native Copts nor with the Jews that Clement's interest lay. He came to the city as a Greek among the Greeks, and it is with this element of the population that the student of Clement is more particularly concerned. Descended from Alexander's original Macedonian colonists, losing something of their predominance under the later Ptolemies, yet never ceasing to be regarded as before all other nationalities the true citizens of Alexandria, the Greeks were conscious here as elsewhere of the line which separated the Hellene from the barbarian, and asserted their real or fancied superiority over Copt and Jew with as much assurance when they were ruled by a Roman prefect, as in the old free days when the Ptolemies were in power. They had their own quarter, the Brucheum, in which the finest buildings of the town were situated ; and here, to wealthy traders and professors of every variety of intellectual culture, would be added year by year a numerous company of their restless race, drawn by different causes to a more or less permanent residence in this complex metropolis of the East. Primarily, it was the lowest class of the Hellenic population that gave its well-known character to the Alexandrian crowd. It was more turbulent and uncertain than any other crowd in the Roman Empire. Its passion for horse-racing was notorious. Its susceptibility to exciting music was curiously acute ; while its absence of self-control in the theatre or at public meetings aroused the marvel of every sober traveller. It was clever, too, and quick-witted, especially in the conferring of nicknames, wherein hardly even Antioch had the advantage. An unhappy man who always came in second was known as "Beta." Vespasian was a "sardine-dealer,"

because of his tax imposed on salt fish. Speech was free in Alexandria, and street manners particularly bad. Even the prefects were criticised,[1] and a violent demagogue could raise a following for any cause. Naturally the Emperors never loved the city, in spite of its immense importance. They visited it rarely and never seem to have stayed for long. Yet there are two sides to the account, for the Alexandrians in their way were proud of their city,[2] and one authority at least credits them with a zeal for hard work, which is difficult to reconcile with their other characteristics.[3]

But life in Alexandria, least of all for a quiet student of Clement's type, did not wholly depend upon the excitable and uncertain nature of its populace. The great city had its other features, some notice of which is needful for a closer appreciation of the surroundings in which Clement's work was done. Prominent among these is the fact that it was, on the whole, well governed and well administered. The interests of the Empire indeed alone sufficed to make this secure. Egypt was so important a part of the Roman world that its principal city could never be allowed to get out of hand, and the prefects who held authority were for the most part capable governors, at once restrained and stimulated by their direct responsibility to Cæsar.[4] Flaccus, to judge by Philo's account, ruled well until Tiberius died; and even when he permitted the crowd to attack the Jews, it is clear that this was not from any lack of power to control them, had he so desired. Subordinate to the prefect were other officials, one of whom administered justice, while

[1] Egypt was "in contumelias præfectorum ingeniosa provincia." Seneca, *Ad Helviam Matrem*, xix. 6.

[2] Philo, *in Flaccum*, 17.

[3] *Cp.* Hadrian's (?) Letter: Vopiscus, *Saturninus*, 8: "Civitas . . . in qua nemo vivat otiosus": also C.I.G., 4957, 33 (A.D. 68), τοὺς εὐγενεῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ φιλεργίαν κατοικοῦντας.

[4] "Augustus . . . seposuit Ægyptum."—Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 59.

another had supreme charge of the revenues and finances. There was always an adequate military force in Egypt, a portion of which was stationed at Alexandria, while among the various officers of the Ptolemaic *régime*, whose positions were retained under the Roman order, we hear significantly of the "Head of the Night Watch."[1] All this tends to substantiate the claim that Alexandria gained by Roman rule. Both in matters of internal order and in respect of taxation and finance, the change from the administration of the later Ptolemies to that of the Empire had been in reality a gain, however painful the transition may have been to wounded civic pride. In Clement's day the city was one in which a man might live unmolested and secure, provided only he obeyed the laws of Cæsar and did not wantonly irritate the crowd. Till the persecution under Severus, there is no reason to suppose that the outward peace of Clement's life was in any way interrupted or disturbed.

Another feature of his adopted city was its commerce, with all the varied wealth and luxury which commerce brings. This is clearly evident in the pages of the *Pædagogus*. It had its baser side, as when men spoke of "Alexandrinæ deliciæ,"[2] though on the whole Alexandria was less immoral than Antioch, in part, no doubt, because it possessed so keen a counter interest in trade.[3] One third of the corn supply of Rome came from Egypt and was shipped on the quays of Alexandria. The day was a high day for Puteoli when the first corn-ships of the year arrived and the bread of the capital was secure. Besides this, the main item in the port's commerce, there were

[1] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[2] Quintilian, *Inst. orator.*, i. 2.

[3] It must be admitted, however, that Lucian thought there was little to choose between the two cities: *Pseudologistes*, 21.

consignments of paper, glass, and linen for various destinations, all of which were extensively manufactured in the city. But Alexandria transmitted more than it produced, for it was essentially a port of transhipment. Leopard skins and frankincense came through from Arabia, while its traders distributed annually the cargoes of a hundred and twenty merchantmen which had sailed to Egypt from the Indian seas. The great vessels would at times attract crowds of spectators, when they sailed into foreign ports, and their crews would tell stories, with more truth than most tales of the sea possess, about the princely revenues of their owners.[1] Thus had Alexander's city attained its recognised position as the greatest trade centre of the Roman world.[2] Hence the sarcastic taunt that in Alexandria money was the only god,[3] and hence, too, the fact that Clement's one extant sermon deals with the use of material wealth. Hardly in Rome itself would his environment have been more constantly and more evidently one of abundance and of this world's goods.

Scarcely less varied and plentiful than these material riches were the religious resources of the city. Every creed, every cult found a welcome, whether it came from Rome or from Persia, whether it were as ancient as the native faiths of Egypt or as recent as Christianity. At the shrine of Poseidon, by the great harbour, the mariner from the high seas might pay his vows.[4] Emperors, dead or living, were worshipped in the Cæsareum, a building whose elaborate magnificence even Jews were constrained to admire.[5] The Egyptian Serapis had his extensive and magnificent

[1] See the interesting account of the Alexandrian ship, the "Isis," in Lucian's *Vota seu navigium.*

[2] Μέγιστον ἐμπορεῖον, Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[3] "Unus illis deus nummus est," Hadrian's Letter, Vopiscus, *loc. cit.*

[4] Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[5] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 22.

temple in the native quarter. It is possible that the so-called "Pompey's Pillar" is a relic of the peristyle of this famous shrine. Every year, at the festival of Adonis, the image of this dead god was borne in solemn ritual to the sea,[1] and Clement himself has given a detailed account of certain officials of religion, with their cryptic symbols and attire, whom he must frequently have seen pass in long procession through the crowded thoroughfares of the busy and superstitious town.[2] All the curious native cults of the country had their sanctuaries in Alexandria. The Jews had their many synagogues. The itinerant cynic teacher in his threadbare cloak spoke, like the Salvation Army captain of our time, to such listeners as he could collect in squares and streets, while quacks and charlatans found here a ready market for their wares. "In Egypt," says Harnack, no doubt pre-eminently in Alexandria, was "the hotbed of religious frauds."[3] And side by side with such sorcerers and impostors were the sincere teachers of pagan creeds in their most spiritual form. Ammonius Saccas, the Neoplatonist, must have been a younger contemporary of Clement.

With such variety of cult and faith and ritual, with such a gathering of the old and new, above all with such a fusion of the elements of East and West, there is little wonder that Alexandria became the stronghold of syncretism, originating nothing, discovering nothing, but blending together in complex combination the names, the customs, the ideas, the hopes, the divinities of many creeds and many lands. Here all the deities were sought by all the worshippers; *πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπις*.[4] Fitly enough it was in Alexandria that the Old Testament had been translated

[1] Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 126; *cp.* Origen, *In Ezech.*, viii. 423 (Migne, xiii. 800).

[2] 757–8. See Deiber, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Égypte*, 109 *sqq.*

[3] *Mission*, i. 132.

[4] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 28.

into Greek ; here, too, that in the Jewish Alexandrine philosophy, of which Philo was the supreme exponent, Hellene and Hebrew had come into even closer contact. And the modern traveller may still behold in one of the Catacombs remaining from Græco-Roman times a curious and typical evidence of this same religious characteristic. Among the tombs of Kom el Chougafa[1] is a sarcophagus with Greek emblems and ornamentation : above it, a series of figures in unquestionably Egyptian style. Such a fusion of symbols of different origins and associations was wholly in keeping with the syncretistic religious character of the city. In this atmosphere Clement did his work. If we may not determine exactly to what extent it influenced his theology, at least we shall recognise its singular affinity with the genius of his synthetic mind.

Intellectual culture lies near to the domain of religion, and here again Alexandria had its own history and position. The succession of Alexandrian learning, of the philosophy and literary culture of its schools, went back to the days of the early Ptolemies and the founding of the Museum. It connects itself with such well-known names as those of Euclid and Theocritus, and it is all to the city's credit that, side by side with the turbulence of the mob and the eager gathering of wealth, the higher interests of the mind never wholly lost their place. In Clement's day this culture was sometimes superficial enough. The sophist and the rhetorician were much in evidence ; he knew men who resembled an old shoe—only the tongue was left.[2] Of the abundant literature of the time hardly any has proved itself of sufficient value to survive. The important favours, which Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius had recently conferred

[1] On this necropolis, see the work of Theodor Schreiber (*Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, Leipzig, 1908) ; also the account by F. W. von Bissing, in the publications of the Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.

[2] 328.

on Athens, no doubt tended to diminish the prestige of Alexandria as a seat of learning, and it was always accounted promotion to move from Alexandria to Rome. In science, however, the Museum seems still to have held its own. Astronomy was a serious study here, and the references to this subject in Clement's pages are striking and appreciative.[1] It had its religious aspects also, as a beautiful epigram of the time may show.[2] So too with medicine. Erasistratus had been an Alexandrian: the great Galen had studied here. For experimental anatomy there were special advantages. Indeed, no physicians in the world had quite the same repute as those who had prepared for their calling in this school. There was small chance in Alexandria of bad drugs passing muster.[3] So medical students found their way from all parts to share the training of the university. An inscription, not without its simple pathos, has been found in Pisidia, set up by his mother to the memory of Orestes, son of Antiochus, "who determined to study the science of medicine and died in Alexandria."[4]

So far, too, as culture depends on books, the city of the Ptolemies was without a rival. Even if—for the point is not certain—the great library of the Museum had been burned in Cæsar's siege of the city, still that in the Serapeum remained intact. Cæsar himself paid and appointed the librarian, and Tertullian was aware that both Greek and Hebrew versions of the Old Testament might be at any time consulted here.[5]

[1] *E.g.* 780, 785, 795.

[2] οἶδ ὅτι θνατὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἐφάμερος· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄστρων
μαστεύω πυκινὰς ἀμφιδρόμους ἕλικας
οὐκέτ' ἐπιψαύω γαίης ποσίν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῷ
Ζανὶ θεοτρεφέος πίμπλαμαι ἀμβροσίης.

Mackail, *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, iv. 32.

The writer, Claudius Ptolemæus, lived in Alexandria in the latter half of the second century and gave his name to the Ptolemaic system.

[3] See Papyrus, 356, in the "Room of Ancient Life" in the British Museum.

[4] C.I.G., 4379.

[5] *Apologeticus*, 18.

As in every great city, the different classes of society would no doubt be much separated. The Roman official, the trader, the professors and philosophers, would tend to pursue their various interests upon distinct and diverging paths. The staff of the Museum, envied for their immunities, and sometimes made the butt of royal wits, were hardly of the calibre to exercise evident influence on the life of the great community in which they lived. The gap between the life of thought and the life of action was keenly felt, for example, by Philo,[1] yet, with all deductions, the city was a real centre of intellectual life even in the days when Clement lived there. It was a kindly fortune which led this lover of learning to make Alexandria his residence for twenty years.

The history of Christianity in Alexandria probably commenced at least a century before Clement's arrival there, but unhappily our acquaintance with its earlier stages is extremely limited. "The worst gap in our knowledge of early Church history is our almost total ignorance of the history of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt up till A.D. 180."[2] Tradition, as Eusebius and Epiphanius report it, assigned the foundation of the Church of Alexandria to Saint Mark, and the tradition may possibly be correct.[3] It is also possible that Apollos, who travelled considerably, may have returned, after he had learned the way of God more perfectly, to his native city. There is an Alexandrian element in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and more evidently still in the Epistle of Barnabas. The succession of Alexandrian Bishops is given by Eusebius, but the first of whom we have any real knowledge is Clement's contemporary,

[1] Yet he also recognised the value of the man of thought in public affairs. —*Quod omnis probus liber*, 10.

[2] Harnack, *Mission*, ii. 158.

[3] H.E., ii. 16, 24; Epiph., *Hæres.*, li. 6.

Demetrius (A.D. 189–231). A "Gospel according to the Egyptians" was current, and Clement quotes it more than once. The Church developed more slowly in Alexandria than elsewhere in regard to such important matters as the Creed, the Episcopate, and the Canon. To some extent it moved upon independent lines, and not, so Harnack thinks, in the direction of Catholicism.[1] For the rest, the evidence makes it sufficiently clear that Christianity had established itself permanently in Alexandria long before Clement arrived there; but by what stages, under what guidance, and with what indebtedness to other Churches, the process of development had gone on, are matters on which no certain records are available. One fact, however, is clear amid many obscurities, and for Clement's career it was a fact of primary importance. Alexandria already possessed a Catechetical School. It was here, as the pupil and then as the colleague of Pantænus, that he found his appropriate sphere of labour.

What was the nature and origin of this institution? We know nothing definite as to its foundation. In the first and second centuries, before doctrine had fallen under episcopal control, the teacher's office was of recognised importance and, to some extent, independent of authority. And where the teacher had pupils, a school, in germ at any rate, came into being. So Justin had his school in Rome, and again in Ephesus. The origin of these centres of Christian training lies indeed in the teacher, rather than in the institution. So, in default of more definite evidence, it must be supposed that some unknown master first imparted instruction to converts and inquirers in Alexandria. There was no separate building. There was no endowment. There was no formal appointment of a principal until after Clement's time. But the custom of such

[1] *Hist. Dogm.*, ii. 150.

instruction, once established, was maintained, and in earlier, as in later days, the task may have been discharged by several teachers simultaneously. Eusebius speaks very definitely of the ancient and established character of the institution,[1] and also of the leading position and repute of Pantænus. It is a little difficult to reconcile his account of the latter with Clement's own references, which seem rather to imply that Pantænus was little known at the date of Clement's arrival in Alexandria. From very early times these Christian establishments must have been influenced by the methods and organisation of the numerous schools of pagan culture. Especially would this hold good in Alexandria, where the very existence of the Museum must have compelled the Christian community to realise the necessity for adequate instruction in the faith. Great Gnostic teachers had also expounded their doctrines in Alexandria, and orthodoxy was bound to give an account of itself to educated questioners unless the whole position was to be surrendered by default. Under such general conditions the famous Catechetical School had its origin. When Clement joined Pantænus the work of the Christian teacher in Alexandria was already conducted on certain determined lines. Its method and character may be more clearly seen if the following facts are borne in mind.

(1) The instruction was given in the teacher's own house. Origen had to change his residence frequently during the persecution, though his work of instruction seems to have suffered no interruption.[2] Clement's repute as a teacher, and the language of the *Protrepticus*, alike imply that his lecture-room was usually full, though there may also be a personal reminiscence in his remark that the true Gnostic is satisfied with a single hearer.[3] The school can

[1] H.E., v. 10. διατριβὴ τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας—ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλεῖον.
[2] H.E., vi. 3.
[3] 345, *cp.* 365.

hardly be said to have been a private institution because it was held in a private house, but the fact did no doubt emphasise the independence of the teacher. It was the succession of great teachers that really made the school.

(2) The instruction was designed to meet the needs of converts to Christianity and of inquirers. It did not provide for the education of the children of Christian families, who continued to receive the ordinary training from pagan teachers.[1] Thus it approximated far more nearly to the philosopher's lecture-room than to the school as we know it in modern times. It was indeed a missionary college for educated persons, where the faithful were led on from stage to stage of Christian knowledge, and where Christianity was so presented as to win the assent of thoughtful inquirers, not wholly satisfied with heathendom. It had already this character before Clement began to teach. Pantænus had come over from Stoicism, and it was largely through his training in philosophy that he became "the helper of many," to use again an old pupil's phrase.[2] The number of educated people who came over to Christianity in Alexandria and elsewhere is an important feature of the period in this connection.

(3) In the main, the teachers concerned themselves with Scripture. It was primarily for the teaching and study of Scripture that Clement was associated with Pantænus. One of his published works was a series of such expositions as he was doubtless wont to deliver in the way of oral teaching. The great work of Origen is a further evidence of the supreme interest of exegesis for the Alexandrine masters. It was, of course, quite possible in expounding the sacred text to wander far away into fields of philosophy and speculation. Clement's own pages are sufficient evidence of this, and Pantænus, as we have seen, did not

[1] See Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, i. 199 *sqq.* [2] H.E., vi. 19.

forget his Stoicism. But the theory remained, and to some extent must have steadied the practice. When certain people criticised Clement's teaching as being unscriptural, he replied that he adhered to the sense, if not to the actual language, and that whatever inspiration and life his words possessed were derived from no other source.[1] This is an interesting reflection of the practice and central principle of the school.

(4) Finally, it is important to notice that the school grew up side by side with the Church, but not as a strictly regulated part of its organisation or definitely under its authority. Bishop Demetrius took control when he appointed Origen to succeed Clement. But the earlier teachers were more independent. They owed their positions, of course, to the goodwill and support of the Christian community, and Clement is clearly unwilling to offend his brethren. Officially, however, he was free to take his own line, and his Bishop, even if he thought the lecture-room made too many concessions to philosophy, would probably have found it difficult to interfere effectively. In the second century, though the relation of the Christian διδασκαλεῖα to the local churches is wrapped in obscurity, it is still sufficiently clear that the schools were to some extent a danger to the authority of the Episcopate and to ecclesiastical unity.[2] Yet the independence of the Christian teacher is an asset of great value: Clement could hardly have done his work in a position of more restricted liberty, though he was quite conscious that a school is something fundamentally different from a Church.[3]

Such, in some of its more important features, was the great city with which Clement's name has always been associated. He came there as a travelling student in quest of knowledge; he left it as a Christian doctor of recognised

[1] 829. [2] See Harnack, *Mission*, i. 443–4. [3] 889.

account. Alexandria had given him his opportunity and he had used it well. In certain marked respects his environment has left its impression on his work. Later chapters will lead us to consider such subjects as Clement's doctrine of the Divine Logos, his extensive use of allegory, his estimate of the Gnostics, his abstract characterisation of the Divine Being. In these and in many other portions of his teaching Clement is fundamentally Alexandrine. Here it will be worth while to mention one or two incidental or general traits, in which his pages seem to reflect his surroundings in this great and heterogeneous centre of commerce, nationalities, and ideas.

Many of Clement's expressions and favourite figures must have been consciously or unconsciously suggested to him by familiar scenes and circumstances. Alexandria, for example, was passionately devoted to music. The influence of music on its populace was extraordinary, though it was not always beneficial. Nero had been delighted by the skill of singers from Alexandria.[1] And Clement's readiness to dwell on the harmony of the divine order in Nature and in Revelation,[2] his account of the Gospel as a new and divine "melody,"[3] have in this way a special fitness and significance. So, too, there was the sea, with its waves surging against the rocks around the Pharos and then falling into unbroken calm in the harbour. And such figures as those of the divine "Pilot," of the dangerous waves of temptation, of the final anchorage of the soul unharmed in the heavenly Haven,[4] while not by any means peculiar to Clement, acquire a fuller meaning, when we recollect how often he must have seen the great corn-ships come and go from the two harbours, and how, as the story of the shipwreck in the Acts makes clear, even these well-

[1] Suetonius, *Nero*, 20; *cp.* C.I.G., 5898.
[2] 581, 784, 803. [3] 1–10, *passim*. [4] 130, 183, 831, 940, 950, 955.

found merchantmen did not in every case come back to the "Haven of Happy Return."

So, too, there is perhaps a tinge of local colouring in one or two of his favourite descriptions of the Lord. He is specially fond of the term "Saviour," and to a less degree of the figure of the "Good Physician." Philo before him had made frequent use of the term Saviour. It had its special appropriateness in a city in which Ptolemy Soter, the first of the succession, was still remembered as the "Saviour" of his allies and a prince devoted to the arts of peace; upon the famous lighthouse, too, of whose harbour stood the significant dedication, "To the Saviour Gods."[1] The conception of the Good Physician is closely connected with the office of a Saviour. But this again gained additional meaning from the prominence, already noticed, of medical studies in Alexandria. Clement's curious liking for physiological illustrations and discussions is a reflection of the same circumstance. Again, there is the striking figure of the Divine Word stationed in his elevated "watch-tower,"[2] with the whole life of man, and of beings higher than man, stretched clear and open before his view. This figure again is not original. Philo, too, had thought of such a remote eminence for contemplation, high above the restless turmoil of busy life.[3] Alexandria, built on level ground, a city without hills, had still two such vantage points from which the whole area of its populous activity might be surveyed in a moment's glance. The Serapeum was one. From its summit in A.D. 211 Caracalla beheld his soldiers massacre the citizens to requite their sarcastic taunts.[4] The other was the Paneum,

[1] Θεοῖς Σωτῆρσιν, Lucian, *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda*, 62. Strabo, *loc. cit.* [2] 831.

[3] Philo's term, however, is σκοπιή; *De Spec. Leg.*, ii. 1. Clement uses περιωπή; *cp.* Plato, *Politicus*, 272, E; Lucian, *Charon*, 2.

[4] Dion Cassius, lxxvii. 23.

an artificial tower, cone shaped, with a spiral staircase, from whose height also a similar view of Alexandria could be gained. Strabo has left a description of this structure;[1] it may have aided Clement towards his striking conception of the "Watch-tower" of the unsleeping Word. Sometimes, too, he speaks more directly of what he had seen, as in his references to the disorderly crowd in the theatre or the stadium, to the image of the Serapis, to the bewildering number of books in a great library, or to the folly of cities which make mere amusement a serious interest.[2] In such hints and phrases we may detect now and again the influence of familiar scenes upon Clement's thought. Through the pages of this Christian student we catch now and again the sights and sounds of an ancient city; its life, its people, its interests, its buildings, its ships, its surrounding sea, become once more real and living in spite of the intervening years.

Over and above such particular points of correspondence between Clement's writings and his environment in Alexandria, there is a general though indisputable similarity of tone between his intellectual qualities and the genius of Alexandrian culture. Neither Tertullian nor Irenæus could have done their particular work under Clement's conditions, while even Origen belongs more definitely to the Church and less characteristically to Alexandria. Here men of all views came and went, all deities had their shrines, one doctrine passed current as readily as another. Christ and Serapis, said a later taunt, were worshipped by the same devotees.[3] Amid this fusion of cults and interpenetration of ideas, a rigid, defined, antagonistic presentation of Christianity would have availed little. Saint Paul would hardly have been more successful in the city of Apollos than he

[1] xvii. 1. [2] 42, 299, 927.
[3] Hadrian's (?) Letter, in Vopiscus, *loc. cit.*

was in Athens. The whole intellectual atmosphere of Alexandria was one of views and principles, which passed imperceptibly one into the other with no sharp contrasts, no inviolable boundary lines. To win influence in the more thoughtful circles of such a city it was needful before all things to be many-sided, sympathetic, quick to recognise affinities, at home in alien domains of thought. Clement's extraordinary discursiveness, that varied learning to which he refers so often, half in apology, half in pride, his readiness to examine all views and all authorities, and, beyond these, the genuine breadth and comprehension of his fundamental religious teaching, are one and all in striking accordance with the distinctive tendencies of Alexandrian culture. And this was the man's real nature, developed no doubt by the similarity of his environment, but certainly too deeply his own to have been merely its product and result. The question has been often raised whether he was more Stoic or Platonist, more Christian or philosopher. It is best to leave such inquiries unanswered. These uncertainties[1] are the evidence of a mental temperament which we can hardly desire should be universal, but which, in God's wide economy, has not the less its appointed place. Rarely has a man's outlook upon the serious things of life been more happily accordant with the environment in which his work was done, than was the case with Clement's task and lot in Alexandria.

On the other hand, there is the defect of the quality. Men who work for spiritual causes in a great city, more especially if they work in days of transition and in an age when many opinions are in the air, are peculiarly conscious of the lack of finality in their enterprise. Under such conditions, which occur in modern as they occurred in ancient times, we are apt to possess many ideas but few

[1] "Clement's erudite uncertainty," Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, 54.

convictions, to exert at best a diffused influence, to be conscious of much undertaken with small measure of perfected accomplishment as result. The movement of the great world around us goes on : the ships sail and the ships return : fresh ideas supplant the old : the hurry of crowded streets grows not less but always more. The contact with great forces acting, as they commonly do, at high pressure in the centres of human activity, and wholly beyond the power of the individual to control, has driven men not infrequently to cynicism, pessimism, or despair. Clement, with his convinced optimism, his unfailing hopefulness, his abundant faith, never fell into this sombre attitude of mind. But something, perhaps, of the peculiar influence of a great city may be detected in the lack of finality which is certainly a characteristic of his work. His great enterprise of a completed scheme of Christian truth remained inevitably unfulfilled. He has his own place in the development of Christian theology, but he did not settle any one of its many problems. His work on the Scriptures was extensive rather than conclusive or profound. He is drawn by many interests ; many ideas fill his mind ; the inner world of his thoughts and meditation is as varied as the sights and philosophies of Alexandria. There is a sense, of course, in which no man's work, least of all in religion, can be final. At best, his labours remain, so that other men may enter in and carry them a stage further towards completion. But the lack of finality in Clement's work is more than this. In part it was the outcome of his temperament. Yet we shall hardly err, if in part also we assign it to the change and haste and variety of interests, which are ever characteristic of the life of a great city, and from which not even the scholar who makes his home there can claim entire exemption. But this, again, was the defect of a quality, and the quality was more than the defect. That he missed

completion should not blind us to the measure and the value of his contribution to the progress of Christian thought and to the building up of the Lord's household in the second city of the imperial Roman world.

Other writers besides Clement have left on record their estimate and impressions of Alexandria. Side by side with the many incidental hints which may be discovered in the pages of our learned Stromatist stand the accounts of Strabo, the imperial geographer ; of Philo, the theologian of liberal Judaism ; of Dion Chrysostom, the philosophic missionary. Though two centuries intervene between the earliest of these writings and the date of Clement's residence in the city, they may still be of service in our attempt to reproduce the characteristics of his populous surroundings.

Strabo was in Alexandria in 24 B.C., six years after the city had become definitely part of Cæsar's Empire.[1] He stayed there some time and saw the neighbourhood in company with Ælius Gallus, a Roman officer and his friend. He is primarily the traveller and geographer, with an observant eye for fine buildings and natural advantages of situation, but he is something also of an imperialist, with an interest in government, taxation, and affairs. The importance of Alexandria was naturally his starting-point, though on this there was little need to insist ; it was sufficiently recognised. He seems to have noticed four features of special interest in the city : they were its most evident characteristics from his particular point of view.

First, there was the double harbour, with its dividing causeway of the Heptastadium, two openings through which connected the Great Harbour with "Eunostos." He notes the narrowness of the eastern entrance and the dangerous rocks, many of them submerged, over which there is always broken water. But there is no lack of

[1] Strabo, ii. 5 ; xvii. 1.

depth inside. Large ships lie close to the quays. There are docks, too, on both sides of the Heptastadium. Nature has done her best to provide the trader with a splendid haven, and human skill has turned her endowment to good account. The second feature, closely connected with the first, is the prosperity of the city. The traffic with the East was even more extensive and important than the Mediterranean trade. The canal to Lake Mareotis brought in commerce of immense value, for Indian and Ethiopian cargoes arrived by this route. Imports from the south and east, exports to the north and west, was the common rule. For her particular trade Alexandria had no competitors: *καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μονοπωλίας ἔχει.* Sheer wonder at this abundance of material welfare seems to have filled the serious soul of the old geographer, as prosperity met his eye at every turn. Thirdly, there were the fine buildings, specially the wonderful Pharos tower, many stories high and built of white stone, of such peculiar service to the mariner on this low-lying coast. There were royal palaces with their grounds and public edifices, such as the Gymnasium and the Amphitheatre, till for one such purpose or another Strabo reckons that a quarter or even a third of the city had been enclosed. There was the Museum with its halls and covered walk, the royal tombs where Alexander's body lay and the Ptolemies were buried, the great pile of the Serapeum; then, east of the city in Nicopolis, where Cæsar had conquered Antony, were a series of new structures which were threatening the popularity of the old. The whole city, it seemed, was full of shrines and noble buildings. Again, we catch the accents of unstinted admiration, and Strabo had seen many cities in his time. Finally, this traveller is quite decided in his estimate of the advantage of Roman rule. The Ptolemies, after the first Euergetes, had been spoiled by luxury and misgoverned in a disastrous

way. Then Rome came in to set things right. Her soldiers and officials discharged their duties well, and Cæsar chose good men as prefects. The system of administration, partly new, partly Ptolemaic, was evidently working advantageously, and the abundant revenue — imports and exports both paid duty—was at once a testimonial and a profit to the Empire. This deliberate opinion of a man who knew the world is well worthy of note. Such was Strabo's estimate of Alexandria ; harbours, commerce, buildings, administration, all were good. Two centuries later, when Clement arrived there, it is quite probable that the city was much as the geographer had found it.

About a generation later than Strabo comes Philo, the contemporary of Jesus and the greatest master of the Jewish Alexandrine school. He would have preferred the contemplative life, away from crowds and cities, after the manner of the Therapeutæ of the Mareotic Lake, for whom, if the treatise *De Vita Contemplativa* be genuine, he had so sincere an admiration. But this was not to be, for Philo had wealth and position and important relatives, and many ties and claims bound him to the interests of the Jewish community in his city. So he lived, apparently, all his days in Alexandria, and late in life was sent as the chief of five delegates to extract, if possible, from the mad Emperor Caligula some abatement of the wrongs done by Flaccus, the Governor, and by the mob, to his unhappy and defenceless fellow-countrymen. Philo's references to Alexandria and its life are numerous and interesting, for with all his care for intellectual and religious interests he was no recluse, but went, like the rest of the world, to philosophic discussions, to the theatre, and even to a bull-fight. The climate of Alexandria, the haughty Egyptian character, the dangers of the entrance to the harbour, the laziness of the mob, the splendid buildings of the city, in particular the

Cæsareum, the fatalistic and fruitless character of astronomy, a favourite study of its university, are all mentioned in his pages, and many a glimpse may be had through his, as through Clement's writings, into the ways and interests of an ancient city's life. Among other points, Philo illustrates the attitude of an educated provincial towards the Empire. This may be clearly seen in the speech against Flaccus. Philo is quite content to take the government of Alexandria on its merits. He judges as he finds. Flaccus, he tells us, had come out well qualified for his position and had quickly grasped the nature of his task. In his personal bearing as Governor, in his administration of justice, in his management of the revenues and in his control of the city mob, he had for five years proved himself an admirable ruler. It is a creditable picture of wise and capable administration. Then follows the contrast—a demoralised chief magistrate, an uncontrolled and violent populace, pillaged houses, insulted women, the wild barbarities of a Jew hunt, and the crazy person of Caligula in the background of the whole disorder. The best and the worst of the Roman imperial administration are to be seen here side by side. Philo's narrative illustrates many a later scene of Christian persecution in Alexandria, and Clement, like Philo, was to experience both phases of the Empire's provincial rule.

Once again, it is easy to read in the following scene the varied and excitable character of the Alexandrian crowd. "I have frequently," Philo writes, "when in the theatre, observed some of the spectators so affected by a song of the performers on the stage—tragedians or comedians, it made no matter—as to jump up and sing the air, shouting out their applause without intending it. Others were so unmoved that in this point they might be thought to differ nothing from the lifeless seats on which they sat; others, again, would be so disgusted as to leave the play and go,

still stopping their ears with either hand, lest some lingering echo should disturb their morose and cross-grained spirit by its sound."[1] This is interesting testimony from an eye-witness. Behaviour in the theatre was a sort of index of character in Alexandria, as other observers had remarked.

Instructive also, in the light it throws on the decadence of the Museum and on the futile mania for discussion, is the account given in Philo's *De congressu quærendæ eruditionis gratia* of an Alexandrian teacher's lecture-room. Every day the places where there was anything to hear were crowded. The philosophers spoke on, without stopping to take breath, in one long-continued discussion about virtue. But what was the gain of it all? Instead of attending, the minds of the audience were occupied with their ships, their business, their rents, their farms. Others were dreaming of public honours, or politics, or success in the professions or the arts. Others thought of sensual pleasure. Each seemed to have his own preoccupation, but as for the lecture, the audience were completely deaf, present in body, absent in mind. Even if a few did listen, they forgot the lecture the moment they went away. Those who attended and remembered most were not philosophers but sophists, powerful in rhetoric, incompetent in moral performance. So it was all a matter of words not deeds. There was no real desire to learn. Orations multiplied, but few cared by conduct and solitary meditation to turn the teacher's lesson into action. It is a sufficiently discouraging picture of a great centre of philosophy and thought. That it was not an exhaustive account of Alexandria's intellectual life is proved by the fact that Philo himself lived there. But his description justifies Clement's dislike of rhetoric and speaks eloquently of the opportunity which awaited Christianity, with its serious claims on men's attention and its

[1] *De ebrietate*, 43.

resolute demand that profession must be made good by a corresponding mode of life.

Strabo's interest in Alexandria centres in its buildings, position, government, and trade. To Philo it was the uncongenial environment, to which only occasional and incidental reference need be made. It is from an altogether different standpoint that Dion of Prusa, known as Chrysostom for his eloquence, regards the city in his thirty-second Oration. Dion was a sincere philosopher, with a genuine care for character and ideals, and the faith of a true Hellene in Reason and Education as remedies for all the moral failings of humanity. He is preacher rather than thinker, grave, dignified, remote, much troubled by the errors and wayward vices of his generation, and anxious to correct by philosophy the mistakes of Emperors and mobs alike. He was hated and exiled by Domitian, but Nerva and Trajan were his friends. He was in Egypt in his younger days, and in later life composed, among other orations, an address to the assembled Alexandrians. The speech betrays intimate knowledge of the character of the people, though it is hard to believe that even Dion's eloquence could have induced the turbulent multitude to hear so severe a criticism of their life and manners with patience to the end. It is well worth comparing with Clement's *Pædagogus*, upon which it throws considerable light. The kind of people whom Clement was trying to win for Christianity may be recognised in the philosophic missionary's periods.

"Gentlemen," he begins, "will you consent for a little space to be serious and give me your attention." This strikes at once the keynote of his whole address. The utter want of seriousness, the proneness to frivolity and play, the flippant levity of character, which marked the Alexandrian crowd, are the theme of the speaker from his opening words right on to his sarcastic conclusion that, after all, he is only

"singing into a donkey's ears." The virtue of a crowd is the power to listen, but the theatre of Alexandria was turbulent and full of din. Unlike the wiser democracy of Athens, they would tolerate no criticism of their ways; so true guides and teachers rarely addressed them. Rhetoric for display, or a few serious words cut short for fear of a storm of violence, were the rule. But here was Dion, inspired to come among them, risking unpopularity, making in his friends' eyes a fool's venture, confronting the crowd in his poor philosopher's cloak and ready to "speak out" for the good of the Alexandrine people on the true remedy for the ills of life. There is a clever appeal for their attention in his impressive description of that wonderful spectacle, an intently listening multitude; but a multitude indeed was like the sea, soon stirred and roused by the winds of disorder, and who would say a good word for them in their turbulent moods, when ribaldry and blows went free? He notes their demand for free bread, their passion for horse races (Troy was destroyed by a horse), and the loose women in the streets. Their city? Yes, it was glorious, the second in the Empire. Egypt itself was a mere appendage of Alexandria. The position—ἐν συνδέσμῳ τινι τῆς ὅλης γῆς,—the magnitude of it, the sea, the harbour, the abundant merchandise, the traffic of the Red and Indian seas, were all wonderful. But, after all, what is it to praise a city, a πόλις? A city is men, and Dion will praise anything in Alexandria rather than the Alexandrians. Their very greatness makes their defects notorious, and traders of all nationalities return to tell in distant places the story of this most populous city's shame. Could they not take their pleasures with more restraint? There was music and there were shows in other cities without disorder. In Rhodes no one ran tearing through the public streets. But in Alexandria people could not even keep their seats in the stadium

for a chariot race, so excitable was their nature. Let them remember the capture of Troy, and that a city was truly captured when it fell under the mastery of follies, revelries, and excitement, and lost all power to hear and see the things that made for its true salvation. So Dion goes on, referring significantly to the Museum. Why was it a place and a name merely, with no right to the title? The Alexandrians had no fellowship with the Muses. He tells them, too, how once a wise man, Theophilus by name, did come among them, but he made no speech in Alexandria, as it is not worth a merchant's while to display his wares among paupers. And once, ceasing for a moment to scold and lecture, he holds out a more concrete and mundane inducement, and suggests that, if they will amend their ways, perhaps the great Cæsar himself will be moved to pay their magnificent city an honourable visit.

This is the substance of Dion Chrysostom's oration to the Alexandrians. It is an interesting evidence of the ways and character of this fickle and turbulent population, no doubt a little severe and one-sided in its estimate, difficult, too, to reconcile with the commercial activity and many manufactures of the city. Dion, like most philosophers, did not love the multitude, and he felt how sadly Hellas had fallen from her great estate. Where his grave and dignified reproof failed to change either men's interests or their manners, Christian philosophers, Clement not least among them, were to teach a century afterwards with more success.

Such, as other eyes saw it, and as we may attempt to reconstruct its life, was the city of East and West, with which Clement's name was to remain associated. The modern traveller will find little to recall the second century in the Alexandria of the twentieth.[1] There are catacombs of the

[1] See the Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894–5; also the publications of the Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.

Græco-Roman era. There is the site of the Serapeum, with the so-called "Pompey's Pillar" to suggest to him the magnificence of its lofty colonnade. The modern Rue de la Porte de Rosette probably follows the line of the ancient city's greatest thoroughfare, and the waves break around the eastern extremity of the island of Pharos, as they did when the Alexandrian corn-ships sailed annually to Dicæarchia. We know where the Heptastadium was situated, and the position of the two Harbours is not greatly altered. But the subsidence of the ground has caused changes. The Arabs had no interest in conserving the antiquities of a civilisation not their own. Under Moslem influences Alexandria was despoiled for the embellishment of Cairo, while the demands of an active commercial life and the private ownership of the soil do not wholly facilitate excavation. So the explorer has won no great results in Alexandria, and the modern city lives its own varied life with little memory of ancient times. The Middle Ages irresistibly intervene.

Whoever cares in imagination to bridge this gap, may reflect, as he contemplates to-day the shipping which crowds the harbour, or the busy traffic of excellent streets, or the pleasant amenities of the suburb of Ramleh, that in ancient as in modern times life was full and keen and eager in this admirably chosen centre of civilisation. Here were thriving commerce, crowded theatres, magnificent temples of the ancient gods. Here came men of all nationalities. East met West, and Hebrew and Hellene borrowed of each other's stores. Here Alexander was buried, Ptolemy Philadelphus patronised literature, Cleopatra delighted Antony, Galen studied medicine, Hypatia pleaded the lost cause of Paganism. Here the great nameless crowd of a populous city's humanity had its thrills of pleasure in the amphitheatre, its moods of rabid violence in the streets. Here, too, for twenty years lived Clement, the Christian philosopher, making such

contribution as lay in his power to the movement of the Church's thought and the appropriation of Hellenism for the new religion, making this contribution, we can hardly doubt, with all the greater wealth and variety of result, because his surroundings and environment were those which this chapter has attempted to portray.

CHAPTER III

THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY

From Clement's personal history, and from his immediate environment in Alexandria and its Catechetical School, it is natural to pass to a consideration of such wider influences as affected his life and work through the general conditions of the age in which he lived. If he was fortunate in the uneventful character of his personal career and found in the great city and its school just the sphere which his particular qualities best fitted him to fill, so, too, in the wider circle of the Græco-Roman world, as it lay around him at the close of the second century, there was a certain coincidence of conditions which rendered him happy in the opportunity of his date, and also gave to the particular work which he accomplished a higher value and a wider measure of result. In Clement's case the accident or providential destiny of such an environment was indeed of great moment. For he can claim no membership in that stronger order of great men, who, under almost any circumstances, are certain to leave their lasting mark upon the world in which their energies have been spent. There is no probability that, had the conditions been adverse and the surrounding tendencies alien to his genius and character, he would ever have broken the invidious barriers of birth and age and place, or left behind him by compelling attainments a name and memory. He was hardly of such temperament and fibre as to make

for himself great opportunities. Rather, he greatly used the opportunity that was afforded him, and was even more the medium and exponent of the tendencies around him than their originator or controlling spirit. His work, indeed, presents the instructive and somewhat rare example of a man whose contribution to human progress is a greater thing than his personal qualities. The result was larger than the character would seem to justify. In a paradox, he did a greater work than it was in his nature to do. And the explanation lies in the singular accord between his nature and his age, in the fact that, to use his own figure, he was the instrument, or organ, through which wider forces were exerted, the child of his age and yet even more its minister, its medium, its effective channel of expression.

Hence there is a special interest in the attempt to understand Clement's relation to his own time, and in the effort to compensate for the scanty details of his personal history by the fuller knowledge of that wider environment, to which it will not be easy to overestimate his debt. The mature years of his career were the closing decades of the second century. Perhaps Clement and his work can only rightly be estimated when we have discerned behind the individual life, as the background and conditions of his ministry, a particular stage in the history of the Roman Empire; a certain atmosphere, religious, spiritual, moral, difficult now to portray or reproduce, but imperceptibly powerful for all who lived within its influence; and, finally, a special and in some regards a critical phase in the history and development of the Christian Church. The present chapter will attempt to consider in turn each of these three elements in Clement's environment.

Marcus Aurelius died in the year A.D. 180, which was the approximate date of Clement's arrival in Alexandria. The death of the philosophic Emperor marks a period and

epoch in the fortunes of Roman Imperialism, and closes a chapter to which all citizens of the old school may well have looked back with a sense of serious regret. For the greatest of the Antonines had been a true Roman. However cosmopolitan his Stoic creed, however tedious and annoying the routine and ceremony of court life, however alien the spirit of his *Meditations* to the common interests and schemes of kings, still the Emperor had in his public life been before all else the servant of the ancient and imperial state. He had sacrificed punctiliously to its deities. He had dealt mercilessly with Christians who refused to allow its sovereignty. To its Senate he had paid an even exaggerated measure of observance. And, because the position of Emperor seemed to involve the sacrifice, he had sat with pained disgust through the shows of the Amphitheatre, and defended in person, while health was slowly failing, the threatened frontier by the Danube. So far as in him lay, he had maintained unimpaired the heritage of the past, and whatever distinctively Roman elements still survived at his accession suffered no loss during his nineteen years of rule.

But when he passed away, the cosmopolitan tendencies of the age were free to take their course. Commodus had no veneration for ancient institutions. His father's memory and example had little power, as against Marcia's influence, to determine his attitude towards Christianity, and his attitude in this respect was symptomatic of much more. Severus, who followed him, cared as little for the Gods of Rome as he did for the lives and property of its Senators. Rome had absorbed into her iron system the whole world that lay around the basin of the Mediterranean, only herself to be in turn possessed by influences more penetrating and subtle than her legions. The prejudice of old Cato who refused to learn Greek, the indignation of Juvenal that the Orontes should blend its waters with the Tiber, had indeed

been prophetic, and, as the second century ran to its close, it became more evident than at any previous time that the proud, exclusive genius of the imperial city had given way to a new supremacy. The legions and the laws of Rome remained, though the legions were ceasing rapidly to be Roman. But the new tendencies, which had been for some four centuries growing stronger within the shelter and protection which these afforded, became now at last clearly and irrevocably predominant. Men of any nationality thronged the ranks as common soldiers. To be born in Syria or in Africa was not incompatible with a place in the roll of the Cæsars. In every great city of the Empire the mixture of races was astonishing, and men passed readily from one place of residence to another, some for amusement, some for education, many more for purposes of trade. National aspirations had one by one been stifled: the distinctive pride of the Roman name was the last to fade away. The problem of combining a widely extended Empire with the narrower patriotism of subject peoples, was unsolved then as, indeed, it remains unsolved in India to-day. But the facilities for intercourse were abundant, and the plain man as well as the Stoic was a citizen of the world. By roads and by ships he might travel where he would, from the Euphrates to the Thames. Within the frontiers, life and property were safe, and the good order of the imperial administration was accepted without enthusiasm and without gratitude. Normally, the machine worked well, but its benefits roused few emotions. The gradual extension of the franchise had naturally fostered the cosmopolitan temper, while the diffusion of Greek culture had been hardly less effective as a solvent of nationality.

As the government of the Empire tended to be more centralised, as the burdens of taxation grew heavier and the class of paid officials more numerous, the life of the indi-

vidual citizen became inevitably poorer in colour and interest, in power of initiative, in sense of responsibility. The loss was far too serious to be compensated by the wider outlook, the abundant leisure, the diffused intellectualism, which characterise the period, and politically the slow operation of the forces of decadence must be admitted and recognised. At an earlier date, as the Republic under the first Cæsar passed into the Empire and the imperial city gave way to the establishment of the new Mediterranean State, these various tendencies had already been powerful and at work. When Marcus Aurelius died in Pannonia and the closing years of the second century ran their course, they had accomplished their task ; and round the shores of the great midland waters lay a world of civilised life, which has probably found no parallel in history for the variety and interpenetration of its constituent elements, for its lack of national aspiration and political ideals, for its indifferent receptivity alike of what the past had bequeathed and of what the future might have in store.

Such a condition of imperial order and administration lies behind the central years of Clement's career and activity. The State was in the main a remote influence, and Clement himself took little regard of the movements of the legions or the aims and ambitions of the reigning Cæsar. For him the imperial rulers were little more than a convenient means of chronological calculation. But the relation of the Empire to Christianity was more important than he recognised, and the teacher in large measure owed his opportunity to political conditions with which he cared little to concern himself. Taken on the whole, the external circumstances of the age favoured the spread of the new religion, and their bearing on Clement's particular work and influence may be considered as fairly typical of the conditions which facilitated the extension of Christianity.

In the first place, the highly centralised government of the Empire tended to curtail the serious interests of life. If the rule of the Cæsars provided daily bread and the games of the Amphitheatre for the populace, it afforded to the educated and wealthier classes protection and liberty, but little more. It offered few careers in the public service to men of independent character. It was tacitly antagonistic to any strong sense of citizenship; and "incivism," while it was the truest and most serious of all charges brought against the Christians, was also a common feature, if not a necessity, of the time. Plutarch, leaving Athens and leaving Rome to devote himself to the service of Chæronea, his unimportant native town, is an attractive and deservedly honoured instance of devotion to the commonweal. But such an example was probably as uncommon as it was commendable. Philo's estimate of public life had been very different. The robe of civic office was like Joseph's coat, that "many coloured web of political affairs, with which the smallest possible portion of truth is interwoven."[1] And Clement's contemporary, Herodes Atticus, after holding consular office, deliberately preferred the patronage of letters in Athens to an administrative career. Even Galen thought that a man must to some extent surrender his love of truth if he meddled with affairs.[2] In many cases official position and great apparent influence brought really less freedom than could be secured in the careers of travelling teachers and rhetoricians. The tendency to stand aloof from public life was due to various causes. On the one hand, the better educated, and in particular the philosophers, were reluctant to undertake civic duties, partly from distaste, partly from despair. On the other, the imperial system worked most

[1] *De somniis*, i. 38: see, however, *De profugis*, 6, for a quite different view.

[2] *De ordine propriorum librorum*, 4 (Kühn, xix. 59 *sqq.*).

smoothly when citizens paid their taxes and obeyed the laws and, for the rest, abstained from interference. Deduct from human life the things of Cæsar and there is greater opportunity for the things of God, or so at least it seems whenever religion is unconscious that its mission lies in the sphere of citizenship as well as in that of the inner life.

Such a severance of human interests was accepted readily enough by the Church of the early centuries, and Clement's contemporary, Tertullian, though he has far more interest in the Empire than Clement himself, can still regard public life as a sphere with which the Christian has no concern: "nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica" are the strong words of his Apology.[1] In all that Clement wrote for the educated Greeks of his time, he betrays no trace of any fear lest religion should suffer from the competition of civic duties or from the counter claims of office and affairs. In the wealth and luxury of a great commercial city he recognises a real danger to faith; from the ambitions and absorption of political life the risk is so small as to be negligible. He contemplates indeed the possibility that his ideal Christian may find some branch of public administration entrusted to his care, but such an office is only an opportunity of service; it has little attraction, little glamour, little to offer for the sake of which a man might sell his soul.[2] An age in which such a conception of public life was possible had small share of the kingdoms of this world and their glory to bestow on its most serious and independent characters. If a new way of life was slowly being opened before them, they were the more ready to follow it, because so often the road to political power and success was either

[1] 38.

[2] κἂν εἰς ἀρχὴν καταστῇ ποτε, καθάπερ ὁ Μωσῆς, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἡγήσεται, 837.

unattractive or definitely closed. If Clement had any message for such men, at least they had time to hear. So the Emperor indirectly helped to fill his lecture-room. Religion had her opportunity, because the State had so little to offer or demand.

But if, in this negative manner, by its failure to arouse the active interests of citizenship, the Empire may seem to have favoured the Church's enterprise, did it not in far more positive fashion hinder the spread of Christianity by its various edicts and prohibitions? No doubt in theory it did so, and no doubt from the standpoint of conservative imperialism it was right. When the Jews told Pilate that, if he let Jesus go, he was no longer Cæsar's friend, they might almost have claimed a deeper insight into the political realities of the situation than Saint Paul manifested in his belief that Christianity could become the creed of the Empire without risk to Cæsar's sovereignty. From the standpoint of humanity the persecutions at Lyons and Vienne are hideous and revolting in their cruelty, and seem to lie like a black stain upon the name and memory of the most humane and spiritual of all the Cæsars. But from the purely imperial point of view they were only wrong because they were ineffective. Marcus Aurelius had as good a justification for persecuting Christianity as he had for defending the frontiers. The philosophic Emperor displayed, indeed, a shrewd spirit of political sagacity when he detected in these two forces, one within, the other without, the real dangers to the vast order for whose maintenance he was responsible.

But to persecute effectively had ceased to be possible. Indeed, in the case of Christianity it had never been so from the first. The "mere obstinacy" of its adherents was a stronger power than the barbarities of the arena and the zeal of provincial governors. Hence theory and fact were

widely different. Technically, Christianity was an unauthorised religion, and its profession was consequently a positive breach of law. The old provision of the Twelve Tables stood unrepealed. The only people who would not offer sacrifice to Cæsar were the Christians, so they alone, while all other cults however novel received permission and authority, remained without legislative sanction or protection. "Nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate" was the complaint of the Apologists.[1] It was the price the Christians had to pay for their refusal to recognise the Divinity of the Emperor. Thus the law remained against them. At best they could only claim its benefits indirectly, by such subterfuges as turning the Church into a Burial Club. But the facts were widely different from the theory. The system of repression only worked when it was set in motion, and this depended in reality on three human wills, the will of Cæsar, the will of the governor of the province, the collective will of the local mob. Clement knew by experience that the Church had to reckon with these three forms of opposition: he mentions them together in one of the most valuable of his few historical passages.[2]

Now the Emperors, from Trajan onwards, had tended to be more tolerant than the law. Their policy, so far as it can be known from their various edicts, was in the main to check the growth of Christianity without proceeding to extremes. Tertullian could seriously argue that the good Emperors had not been persecutors.[3] They did not all recognise the danger, as Marcus Aurelius did, while neither Hadrian nor Severus were likely to be greatly concerned, if one more new religion did make headway under their

[1] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 24.

[2] 827, where he mentions (i) βασιλεῖς; (ii) οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχοντες; (iii) οἱ ἄπειροι ἄνθρωποι.

[3] *Ad Scapulam*, 4.

tolerant *régime*. And in fact the Christians soon became too numerous; besides, Cæsar had many other affairs of state to fill his time. Thus, though it was one of the permanent possibilities of the situation that some new phase of persecution might arise in any quarter from the initiative of the imperial will, the actual records of persecution during the second century point to nothing more than occasional action on the part of the Emperor, frequently local in character, and never long sustained. Christians, as well as those who belonged to the more definitely favoured cults, must have felt that in the main "the Emperor really stood for peace."[1]

Subordinate to the Emperor, but of course less remote, were the various provincial governors. No doubt their line of action was largely determined from above. In the main they would carry out the Emperor's policy towards the Christians, sometimes referring to him for direction, as Pliny referred to Trajan, sometimes prompted to action or inaction by a recent edict. But, when all allowance is made for such influences, there would still remain the normal years, when Cæsar was not specially concerned with the dangers of Christianity and it lay in the governor's power to deal with its adherents as he would. Tertullian's short address to Scapula is proof conclusive that the policy and inclination of the governor was a matter of the first moment to the Christians in his province. Under ordinary circumstances he counted for more than either the Emperor or the populace, for, if he so chose, he could carry out an edict with laxity; he could discourage informers; he could punish the "crimes" of Christians, while ignoring the purely religious charge; he could devise ways of escape; very often he could be bribed; a strong governor could even resist the mob. Pontius Pilate, Gallio, Felix, at an

[1] Harnack, *Mission*, i. 20.

earlier date had the same type of question to decide on a limited scale. Two centuries later it was still true that under one governor the members of an unpopular Church "enjoyed much quietness," while in other cases they were "brought before rulers" for the Name. Clement's reference to the influence exerted by the governor, whoever he might chance to be, is a suggestive hint that under ordinary conditions the relation of the state to this new illicit religion depended largely on his will.[1] While the law did not alter, governors and prefects came and went, and it was always possible that a new ruler would adopt a different attitude towards Christianity.[2]

Thirdly, there was the mob, and the mob could do hideous things, particularly, as Philo's evidence makes clear, in Alexandria. The references in Tertullian and Eusebius to the hostility of the crowd are numerous and illuminating, and where the authorities were inactive the populace was often only too ready to make up for their default. They would use sticks and stones, or plunder houses, or burn property. Or they would take a prominent Christian into court, and few magistrates cared to thwart their insistence. "Nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum quam vulgus": "Quotiens præteritis vobis (*sc.* the governors) suo jure nos inimicum vulgus invadit?" are among the references of the Apologist[3] to the varied forms which the malice of the mob assumed. So Clement had good reason to refer to the hostility of ignorant men. Doubtless it was only when Cæsar and Cæsar's representatives gave help and sanction that the populace could

[1] 827, ὁ τυχὼν ἄρχων.

[2] Seven or eight prefects of Egypt must have held office in Alexandria during Clement's twenty years of residence there. See the list, in the *Table chronologique*, prefixed to Commandeur G. Botti's *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie.*

[3] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 35, 37.

fully satiate its lust for Christian blood ; but on a restricted scale its action was incessant and its fertility in discovering charges and pretexts inexhaustible. Apart from Cæsar and the prefect or proconsul, there was a chronic source of danger here. Clement's references to martyrdom and Tertullian's *Apologeticus* are not the products of an era of special persecution. They fell indeed within a period of "the long peace" of the Church. Deducting rhetoric, we still can read in them the virulence of the popular hatred and its success, when specially aroused, in obtaining its desire.

And yet, weighing one thing with another, Clement had good reason to be thankful for the political conditions of his time. From the death of Marcus till A.D. 202—and these were the most important years of Clement's life—was in the main a period of quiet for Christianity. It is one of the strange facts of history that the advent of Commodus was a blessing to the Church. The new reign inaugurated a milder policy, and persons of good birth and education could come over to the Church with little risk even in Rome itself.[1] In Alexandria Clement appealed to a similar class, and, though he recognises many causes which may hinder their conversion, he never regards the risk of persecution as a serious deterrent. He seems more afraid of the exaggerated and unnatural desire for martyrdom, for martyrdom was always possible, though evidently it had to be sought. Till Severus had brought to a close the troubled wars of his succession and visited Alexandria in A.D. 202, Clement owed to the Empire a singularly fruitful period of successful and unmolested activity. For him, as for his contemporaries, it was a "long and happy peace."[2] His days were spent in study and instruction. Like his favourite Apostle, he taught openly in his own

[1] See the notable statement in H.E., v. 21.

[2] "Tam bona et longa pax," Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.*, 1.

hired house, no man forbidding him. He must have enjoyed frequent intercourse with educated Greeks, either resident in Alexandria or studying for the time in its University. That he made many conversions can hardly be doubted. That he induced serious people, who were not actually converts, to think highly of Christianity was, perhaps, an even truer success. He was not involved in immediate personal risk. Neither the prefect nor the crowd appear to have invaded his security. He had full liberty to offer his particular interpretation of the Gospel to all who could receive it. Such an opportunity for the Christian teacher had hardly occurred before in the history of the Church. In the background of this career is the Empire, securing order, facilitating intercourse, minimising the divisions of nationality, tolerating even where in theory it forbade, leaving men and women in Alexandria to follow their own ways, so long as the grain supplies from its harbours did not fail, and no special outbreak of popular turbulence attracted imperial attention. It was a power present and yet remote, indifferent and yet supreme, suspicious of Christianity and yet supplying the conditions for its growth. Once again the apparently adverse course of the things of this world had "fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel."

Such was the external political order under which Clement lectured to pupils and wrote his books. An element of not less importance in his environment is afforded by the spiritual, moral, and religious conditions of his age. The period was one of extraordinary complexity, and the features which characterise its outlook are manifold and varied. Among the many shifting characteristics of the time two in particular may be discerned which were specially important for the task of a Christian teacher. Of these one is the fluid, unstable condition of thought and of belief : the

other may be described as a certain more or less conscious and articulate sense of spiritual need.

A phase of religious life in which ideas were abundant and serious convictions rare, in which old verities were not so much lost as retained in a condition of solution, was the natural correlative in the world of thought to the external amalgam of nationalities in the Empire. The old theory that every nation had its own deities was maintained occasionally by serious adherents of ancient order. Even Celsus had something to say in its favour, though he could not bring himself to approve of the goats and crocodiles of Egyptian worship.[1] But, for the great majority of the intelligent, such a view had long ceased to be possible. When Eastern divinities had their temples in cities of the West and Athena was recognised as Isis under another name, the age of syncretism had arrived. This had its gain, in that it drove men to look beyond the existing varieties of cult and creed to a pure monotheism, but it had also its serious losses, since the older and narrower allegiances ceased to bind. That under many names the one God was really worshipped had been for long an accepted theory among the educated ; Seneca, Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre, and many other teachers, found in it a welcome mode of reconciling old with new convictions. In ages of transition such a view affords, indeed, the common basis for the conformity of the intellectuals. Yet a comprehensive eclecticism of this order, however useful and elastic, is not the less surely an evidence that old forms have lost their usefulness, and that new *media* will ere long be discovered for those spiritual verities, of which all forms alike are at once the revelation and the veil. Marcus Aurelius found it possible to combine a cosmopolitan Stoicism with the narrow piety of the State religion. Commodus paid his tribute of honour

[1] Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 80, and viii. 69.

to a mixed crowd of divinities, anticipating the indiscriminate catholicity of Alexander Severus, who, half a century later, was willing to include in such an assemblage of the gods an image of the Christian Saviour.[1] Polytheism, apart from the encumbrance of its immoral mythology, was discredited by the sheer abundance of its own creations. A certain triviality possesses alike the worship of gods and saints when these objects of devotion become too numerous and too common. Divinities, it was complained, were in some localities more plentiful than men.[2]

Among educated people there was a currency of philosophical and religious ideas scarcely less abundant than the "gods many" of the common crowd. Travelling from one city to another and conversing with philosophers of many schools in all, it is small wonder that the cultured Hellene of the second century had the wide interests and the shallow convictions which are characteristic of every age of discussion. Such conversations as Justin's Dialogue with Trypho in the Xystus of Ephesus, or the three-sided debate on the seashore at Ostia, of which so charming a picture is given us by Minucius Felix, rarely resulted in any conclusion. Men found elements of good in all philosophies and in all religions, but committed themselves seriously to none. It is sufficiently suggestive that Apuleius[3] was initiated into all the mysteries, while Demonax,[4] one of the noblest pagan spirits of his time, refused to offer sacrifice to any deity or to receive initiation even at the sanctuary of Eleusis. To the old philosophies and the old religions must be added the stream of influences which was now, more strongly than ever, flowing westwards from Egypt and the East. Mithra

[1] Lampridius, *Commodus*, 9; *Alexander Severus*, 29.

[2] See the references in Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 478.

[3] *De Magia*, 55.

[4] Lucian, *Demonax*, 11.

could claim a number of adherents which was rapidly increasing, more especially in the army, and it has been seriously maintained that his creed and ritual were the most dangerous of all the rivals of Christianity for the future spiritual supremacy of the Empire. It is the judgment of M. Cumont that, when the influence of this Persian religion was most strong, Europe was more near than ever afterwards to becoming Asiatic.[1] This, no doubt, was after the second century had closed, but Mithraism was an established power in the Empire even in Justin's day.

Side by side with Mithraism, and offering, as Mithraism offered, strange points of contact with Christianity, was the cult of Isis. A goddess of many *rôles* and aspects, attracting the multitude by the solemn and stately ritual of her processions and winning the thoughtful by the beauty of her esoteric teaching, Isis found many worshippers, who did not need to abandon old ways or traditions in seeking spiritual aid from this tender and graceful divinity of the Nile. And with these definitely foreign cults there must be reckoned, as one of the prominent features of the century, the half-political, half-religious cult of the Cæsar. In days when deities were so numerous, and when it was a commonplace of the philosophers that most of them had originally been only famous men, was it strange that place should be found in the pagan Pantheon for human rulers whose power and attributes were in so large a measure the determining providence of the world?

Thus it is a complex medley of ideas and beliefs which lies around the career of Clement in Alexandria. The men and women with whom he must have held frequent inter-

[1] Cumont, *Texts et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I., p. xi. So Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 579; and J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, 102. Harnack (*Mission*, ii. 317) dissents, because "almost the entire domain of Hellenism was closed to it." Dill, too (*op. cit.*, 619 *sqq.*), thinks Mithra "belonged to the order which was vanishing."

course had worshipped in many shrines and become conversant with many schools of philosophy. They might have said with one of later days—

> "But now the old is out of date,
> The new is not yet born."

The one thing evident and undeniable was the endless variety of cults and creeds. Men knew that Hellenism could blend with Hebraism, and that Roman soldiers could be the devotees of Eastern divinities. They were familiar with white-robed priests of Egypt, with travelling preachers in their threadbare cloaks, with professors who thought much of their fees, and with critics and sceptics who delighted to ridicule the philosopher if he turned pale, like ordinary persons, when caught by a storm at sea. Discussions and debates were abundant; conviction and vision were rare. Men's thoughts and beliefs on the highest subjects were in solution, and the times were ripening for a severance of the true from the false, for a new synthesis which should unite the varied elements of thought which were capable of surviving from the mingled accumulation, to which many centuries and many nationalities had each contributed their share.

Underneath this perhaps unparalleled fusion of cults and customs may be detected a tendency of greater value. With all its apparent superficiality the age was at heart one of serious spiritual demand. Men were realising acutely and painfully that they could no longer rest in old assurances, and that such things as they possessed were no longer adequate to the needs of man's inner life. So the scepticism of the earlier Empire had given way to a consciousness of quest and desire, or even in some cases to actual devotion. Whatever else Roman Imperialism had done, it had not satisfied men's spirits. It could drive

back the Parthians: it could not avert pessimism. It could give no content to its own exalted masters; neither Hadrian, nor Marcus Aurelius, nor Severus found delight or joy in their vast responsibilities. Men turned away from the State or accepted its offices with more and more reluctance. Finding small satisfaction in the world of affairs without, they became increasingly conscious of the demands that came upon them from the world within. As after the exile the Israelite had turned from national hopes to personal piety, so now the citizen of the Græco-Roman State was seeking to derive from inward sources a satisfaction which he had bitterly realised could not be found in the vast external fabric of the Empire.[1]

But, if Imperialism had in this sense failed, so too had Paganism. Men might read higher and truer ideas into old legends, discover a promise of a better land in Homer, and escape through symbolism and allegory from the moral perplexities of the myths. Or, with Dion Chrysostom, they might even discover in the Zeus of Phidias a power of benevolence and peace. This is only to say that then, as now, they had the power to read into the external heritage of their religion the conceptions they themselves brought to it. It was not that Paganism satisfied their needs, but that they themselves made the best of Paganism. The old divinities were dead or dying; if the end was not yet, it was still only a question of time. Already Lucian had portrayed in his Satires the concern which possessed Olympus at the growing scepticism of the age, while the angry readiness with which Paganism hurled the taunt of "Atheists" against the Christians, proved clearly enough that Paganism was fully conscious where its own weakness lay.

[1] *Cp.*, for example, the characteristic counsels of Marcus Aurelius, "The inner self—on that stake all": "Remember to retire within that little field or self," *Meditations*, ii. 2; iv. 3.

And if men were thus turning from the Empire and from Paganism, so too, though less evidently, they were becoming conscious that even Philosophy did not suffice. It had indeed done much. The debt of the Empire to Stoicism was not a slight one nor soon to be forgotten. In Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and their like, Philosophy had anticipated some of the fairest elements of Christian teaching; indeed, it had actually contributed to the new religion from its own abundant stores. In any case the lines were converging: the Church and the schools were already exchanging their several wares. But Philosophy had not the power to accomplish the whole task which lay before it. Its deity was too cold and abstract. Its sincere professors, who lived as they taught, were too few in number. Its division into many schools deprived it, as similar divisions deprive Christianity, of missionary power. At its best it was eclectic, and eclecticism does not convince. It had nothing to offer to the multitude, or to the spiritually sick; while even to the educated the self-sufficient sage did not always appeal, and sceptics questioned his self-sufficiency. One service Philosophy had indeed rendered to the age; it had laid aside its wider speculations, and, in passing from the problems of the Cosmos to those of conduct and the soul, it had acquired something of a religious character and taught men to realise their inward needs. At least it made them conscious of demands which it could not wholly satisfy, and even Lucian, its most relentless satirist, is aware that life is a poor thing without ideals.

This spirit of quest, product and token of an unsettled, transitional time, which was leading men to turn away dissatisfied from the State, from Paganism, and even from Philosophy, expressed itself in various ways. The popularity of the Mysteries was one evident outcome of the desire for a spiritual assurance stronger and more immediate

than that of the cold dispassionate reason. "I am all that hath been or is or ever shall be, and no mortal man hath ever lifted my veil" is the well-known inscription, quoted by Plutarch,[1] on a shrine of Isis; and the desire to raise the veil and scan the features of the unseen mysterious power was so strong, that it gave the charlatan his abundant opportunity and brought a strain of sad uncertainty into the beautiful meditations of the Stoic Emperor. The well-known life of Apollonius of Tyana shows how deep an interest was felt by educated people in such higher teaching as might be found among the Neo-Pythagoreans at their best. Men needed a saviour, and hence the cult of Æsculapius was revived. Men desired a mediator, to link the worlds seen and unseen, and hence the welcome afforded even in the West to Mithra. Men craved for a revelation, and in Neoplatonism the soul assured itself of the possibility of intercourse with God. When a teacher had true guidance to offer, he did not lack disciples. Arrian met a real want when he published the lectures of his friend and master Epictetus, and the high value which, even in sophistical Athens, was placed upon the memory and teaching of this "spy and herald of the gods" is symptomatic of the deeper spirituality of the period.

Thus it is evident that a Christian teacher under the later Antonines might count on the co-operation of certain well-marked tendencies in his environment. In the things of the spirit he had the tide with him, and, for the man who had the gift to use it, the opportunity was there. The very abundance and complexity of the shifting elements of thought and belief were the surest preliminaries to a new synthesis. Such commonly accepted ideas as the One God, Providence, human Freedom; such deep and doubtful hopes as the desire for revelation, for immortality, for the advent of a

[1] *De Iside et Osiride*, 9.

Saviour, were ready to be purified and reset in any fresh embodiment which could present them with a new appeal and guarantee. And out of the travail and restlessness of the Empire, out of the recognised insufficiency of old creeds and convictions, had arisen the demand for light and peace, which even in a decadent age was a blessed thing for all its bitterness, inasmuch as the hunger and the thirst of the human spirit are never destined to remain permanently without their satisfaction. Clement, in other words, was fortunate not less in the religious and intellectual than in the political environment in which his lot was cast.

Finally, there was the Church. No doubt Clement, according to the common tendency of Christian liberalism, was more influenced by the social and intellectual conditions of his age than by those of a definitely ecclesiastical character. To a considerable extent he follows the trend and bent of his own nature, without careful regard to the criticisms or customs of his fellow-Churchmen. Still, he was a member of the Christian Society, and no just estimate can be formed of his work unless it be considered in relation to the state of the Society, its problems and its stage of development, at the period. In later chapters it will be possible to examine in more detail what views our learned Alexandrine held on such questions as the Ministry, the Sacraments, or the Scriptures ; what light also his writings throw upon their history. For the present it is only needful to consider generally what was the condition of the Christian Church, while the second century was closing and Clement teaching in Alexandria.

Perhaps the most obvious and important feature of the time is that the Church had now made good its claim and intention to exist as an active, independent force. Christianity, when Marcus Aurelius died, had become one of the definite and recognised realities of the world. If a line can

be drawn at any date between the period of its "Origins" and that of its "Development," this must be done at the close of the second century, rather than at the end of the Apostolic age, or at the period of Constantine's Edict and the Council of Nicæa.

Thus, on the one hand, the Church of Clement's day had attained its complete independence of Judaism. On the other, it was already too powerful to be permanently suppressed or controlled by the forces of the Empire. From Judaism it had taken over monotheistic doctrine, the Old Testament, and many an element of the organisation of the Synagogue. But the Sabbath had been abandoned, as decisively as Circumcision, and the Quarto-deciman controversy was almost the last relic of the struggle between the Jewish and Gentile elements within the Church. The Jewish Christians were a diminishing proportion, and appear to have hardly existed in Alexandria. Everywhere, indeed, Judaism was becoming less missionary, less aggressive, and the severe troubles of Hadrian's reign had crippled and reduced the unhappy nation, with the result of leaving the field of enterprise more clear for Christianity. As regards the Empire, the attitude of the authorities was still, in theory, "non licet esse vos." But, as already observed, the facts did not coincide with the theory. Tertullian's well-known words, "Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus";[1] Clement's exulting phrase that Christianity, however it might be persecuted, only "flourished all the more";[2] the serious concern of such conservative persons as Celsus at its progress, are among the better known evidences that the new religion had permanently established itself. It was now one of the abiding facts of the situation. The task of the Apologists is almost accomplished and a more constructive era is opening.

[1] *Apologeticus*, 37. [2] 827. ἡ δὲ (*sc.* ἡμετέρα διδασκαλία) καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνθεῖ.

The Church, in other words, is no longer mainly concerned to make good its right and title to exist. Such discussions as Justin's with Trypho, such defensive orations as had been prepared for more than one of the Antonines, are ceasing to be its most important utterances. The new religion was assured of its future, and, as the belief in the immediate return of Christ waned and passed, the outlook of the faith, its work and mission, the manner of its institutions here on earth, together with its many problems of relationship to other mundane forces, become more and more worthy of consideration. The struggle for existence may be severe, but it is definite. Given security of existence, the complexities at once arise and multiply, for existence involves internal adjustment and an external environment. Problems of this order were pressing upon Christianity during Clement's lifetime. With some of them it was his lot to be intimately familiar; they all affected to some degree his environment in the Christian society.

There were three main questions to which an answer was wanting. The first arose from within; it was the problem of organisation, unity, definition. What exactly was the Church's message? What were its ceremonies, its sacred books, its recognised order? was it one or many? where was its seat of authority? what were its ultimate criteria? to what exactly did it stand committed? The second question arose from without. Surrounded as the Church was by certain existing forces of the world—its art, its literature, its modes of government, its intellectual methods, its material wealth,—to what extent was it permissible or desirable that these should be adopted and assimilated by the Christian society? Was Jerusalem, in other words, to have any dealings with Babylon and Athens? Of the resources of this world, what was allowed, what was forbidden, to those who had received baptism into the

sacred Name? And thirdly, midway between these two series of questions, there was the problem of those recent and now multiplying associations and tendencies which lay upon the fringe of the Church's life, neither wholly within, nor wholly without, at once the outcome of Christianity and its perversion or caricature? What of the Heresies? The Church differed from them, but to what extent and on what grounds? Why was the Church right and the Heresies wrong? and even from the Heresies was there anything the Church could learn?

These were the three several varieties in the task of decision with which the Church was confronted. They were not wholly distinct, each order of problems runs up into others: for what lives is never found in compartments or isolation. They present various phases in various localities. A problem acute in Rome might be negligible in Asia Minor. Again, they are in no sense peculiar to the close of the second century: in some form perhaps every century has to ask and answer them for itself. But in Clement's time they were urgent and evident, fraught with great results, likely to determine the course of future development, the problems which inevitably confronted a religious community which had attained to the first vigour and maturity of independent existence. In outline and no further it will be well to consider the nature of these several questions and their bearing upon Clement's task.

In A.D. 200 the Church already possessed a Creed, a Canon, an Episcopate. None of these, however, had been definitely fixed for all the various communities in a form final beyond modification. The rate of growth and development had varied in different localities. In some respects it had been more rapid in Asia Minor than in Rome, in others more rapid in Rome than in Alexandria. The essentials of order and organisation were all there, but considerable

variety still existed in the method of their employment, and in the degree to which their importance was recognised. Further, the necessity for centralisation was already becoming evident. When Victor, Bishop of Rome, claimed in his own right to settle the Paschal question and excommunicated Polycrates and the Churches of Asia for their adherence to local usage, he manifested, no doubt, an unchristian temper, which contrasts unfavourably enough with Anicetus' treatment of Polycarp fifty years earlier, and even with his successor Gregory's tolerant answer to Augustine in the matter of early British diversities. But Victor's attitude was not the less symptomatic. Particularism was giving way to uniformity, and the predominance of Rome was already asserting itself, not because Peter had been a Roman Bishop but because Rome was the Imperial City. Even the Churches of Gaul, whose early connections had been almost wholly with Asia Minor, were falling more and more under Roman influence: "Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam," are the well-known and disputed words of Irenæus, who in his younger days had owed everything to Polycarp and Asia.[1] Yet here again the rate of movement varied, and Alexandria was more independent of Western influence than any other Church at Clement's date.[2] It maintained something of this independence till the age of the Great Councils and even longer. Thus in various ways the tendency towards order and uniformity is clearly evident: for many reasons it was one of the necessities of the time. But this tendency had not yet become strong enough to extinguish local or individual freedom.

[1] iii. 3, 2.

[2] Yet the West gladly recognised the loyalty of the Alexandrine Church to the common faith and tradition. The "Ecclesiæ" know no discords, *οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, κ.τ.λ.*, says Irenæus, i. 10, 2.

This general condition of the Church at large coincides in a very marked degree with one of Clement's characteristic features. For he, too, is on the one hand strongly attached to tradition and the rule of the past. His respect for the "Elders" and their teaching is in itself strong evidence of the need of his age for order and authority. On the other hand, no writer is more free and unfettered in following the bent of his own thoughts than Clement. He is far less restrained by rule and convention than Origen. While he claims that all his teaching is derived from Scripture, tradition, or the Elders, he takes singular and inconsistent liberty in his expression of strange opinions and of views likely to raise questions in cautious minds. Thus there is in his whole attitude a somewhat remarkable combination of freedom and the sense of order. These two elements exist also around him in the wider circle of the Church, though doubtless it was inevitable that the tendency to order should increase and the range of freedom grow less and less. Once again Clement was happy in his opportunity.

So the Church had her own internal and peculiar affairs to settle, but other problems were also pressing upon her from without. All around lay the world, a Cosmos of settled order and intricate development. What was the nature and extent of her divergence from the world and the world's ways? Even in Apostolic days it had not been absolute: "then must ye needs go out of the world." Far less was it now possible to ignore all the complex life of this surrounding civilisation. For a Christian of the second century might be in the army, or in a magistracy, or even at court. He might be possessed of property, or have a love of literature and art, or have been trained in the philosophic schools. A Christian woman, too, might have a husband who did not believe. How much of this familiar, established,

worldly order could the Church assimilate, without disloyalty to its own principles? At every turn and in a bewildering variety of forms, which multiplied with every decade of the Church's growth, this question arose with pressing insistence. On two points only was the answer negative and absolute. Christianity would have nothing to do with Art, nor with the shows and spectacles of the Amphitheatre. Art was immoral and idolatrous. The Amphitheatre had witnessed the death of the martyrs. Decision here was easy. But beyond, what a variety of answers and of arguments was possible! On the one hand, there were Christian soldiers who declined to conform to regulation orders and wear the laurel wreath when imperial donatives were distributed. On the other, were comfortable and wealthy people who made no outward change in their manner of life, and caused scandal by their ready defection in days of persecution.[1]

Between these two attitudes ran a scale of all possible degrees of conformity to this world and its ways. Both conscience and casuistry were exercised, whenever on any given matter the attempt was made to draw the line. Some Christians were puritans. Some were opportunists. Some inclined to asceticism. Some held compromise and accommodation legitimate. When persecution was active, these questions were specially pressing; but indeed the problem had arisen in earlier times over the meat offered in sacrifice to the idols of Corinth. It is hardly of a nature to receive final settlement till the kingdoms of this world become wholly the dominion of the Lord Christ. So, too, with marriage, with property, with secular education, with philosophy, the difficulties were very real. Were they, or were they not, compatible with the new way of life? And if no rigid principle could be laid down, or if, when laid down, it was sure to be immediately broken, as even by the

[1] In the Decian Persecution, for example, H.E., vi. 41.

great Tertullian himself, by what standard was the average believer in Alexandria or Carthage to regulate his life? The references in Clement to such matters are very numerous. Church and World lay very near to one another in the great city he knew so well, and he had himself brought over so much which was derived from other sources into Christianity, that few men of his age understood the problem better, whether from the theoretical or the practical point of view.

Closely connected with these questions of internal order and external relationship was the difficulty of heretical teaching. At what exact date the several heresies originated, is hard to determine. Docetism goes back to the first century; the beginnings of Gnosticism are particularly obscure. But it is clear that, about the middle of the second century, their development had become sufficiently evident and considerable to arouse within the Church an uneasy recognition of the new danger. The relation of this further problem to those already discussed was obviously intimate, for the Church could not refute false teaching without asserting what she held as true, and the heresies were thus incidentally the cause of her own definitions of belief. And, further, while some of them, as for example Montanism, might be only the exaggeration of tendencies properly existing within the Church, it is clear that in the majority of cases, more especially in that of the several Gnostic schools, the originating cause lay rather in the action and influence of external forces, Hellenic or Oriental, upon the accepted tradition of the Christian communities. To a large extent, therefore, the problem of the heresies was simply another and more intimate phase of the whole question of the Church's relationship to the world and its ways of thought.

Unhappily the same fortune which overtook the Sophists

and the Pharisees has also been the lot of the great Heretics. They are principally known to posterity from the reports of their adversaries. This has had the natural result of predisposing orthodox critics to an unfair estimate of their standpoint, while it has led others to discredit too readily the soundness of the Church's ultimate verdict. Certainly Marcion and Basilides were serious and weighty persons: certainly, on the other hand, the Church would have made shipwreck had she wholly abandoned her historical traditions for such vagaries of speculation as called forth the great work of Irenæus. At the close of the second century the problem was acute. At what point did these various tendencies, intellectual, emotional, ascetic, as the case might be, exceed the limit of the Church's latitude and become impossibly discordant with her accepted tradition? This question, in one form or another, arose alike in Gaul, in Rome, in Carthage, in Alexandria, in Edessa. Its urgency may be estimated by the number of writers who are known to have dealt with it. Besides Irenæus and Tertullian, whose works survive, Theophilus and Serapion of Antioch, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, probably also Melito of Sardis at an earlier date, wrote treatises, which are no longer extant, for the maintenance of the Church's teaching as against the heresies.

While Clement was in Alexandria this new problem had definitely emerged. Accepting in some cases almost all, in others hardly any, of the Church's teaching; sometimes intellectually better equipped than the champions of order and of rule; commending perhaps their irregularities of doctrine by the serious elevation of their lives, there had arisen on the fringe of the Church an innumerable company of unauthorised teachers, whose services in some cases the Church would have been fortunate to retain, whose doctrines in others she could not possibly admit. For a man of Clement's temperament, living in Alexandria as the

second century closed, the question was necessarily one of serious moment.

Such, in a few of its most obvious and characteristic features, was the setting of Clement's life and work. Three surrounding influences formed the environment of his career; most remote of them the Empire, with its rigid framework of government and social ordinances; most pervasive, the particular phase of spiritual and intellectual culture, predominantly, though not exclusively, Hellenic; most immediate, the company of his fellow-believers, the Christian Society, the Church. These were at once the conditions and the opportunity of his task. In the main these influences told in his favour, and had he ever been able to survey dispassionately the world as it lay around him, and its influence on the ministry to which he had set his hand, he might have been grateful to the destiny which had assigned to him the particular circumstances of his date. There was a measure of accord beyond the average between his qualities and the time. Yet such a favourable verdict is essentially a relative one: the period called for such work as he could accomplish, and supplied the conditions of his success; but, from the wider standpoint, a less optimistic judgment is inevitable.

Now and again, in the long course of our rapid years, come the ages of which men afterwards have the feeling, "It was good to live then." Such times were surely the "Juventus Mundi," the unrecorded centuries, when still the world was young: such are all great periods of revival or renaissance: such for Athens was the period of Pericles, for England the days of Elizabeth. Such again, if ever it dawns for our humanity, will be the world's final Golden Day. The second century was far from being an age of this higher or better order. It lay "in the midst of the years," fettered by its own past, doubtful of its own future.

In no department of human enterprise was it really creative. Neither its art nor its literature nor its buildings nor its philosophy can claim any measure of originality. It was even hampered by the abundance of its heritage. Owning great possessions, but without the capacity to use them with strenuous aim, or to enjoy them without self-consciousness, an ancient and elaborate civilisation had reached its stage of decline and fall, and the better elements, which certainly existed, did not suffice to arrest permanently the slow process of dissolution.

The man whose appointed task is discharged under such circumstances, needs two gifts, pre-eminently, if he is neither to despair of his age and so become the mere dreamer and idealist; nor yet, looking for no higher and wider reality, to narrow down his range of aim and vision to the sorry actualities which lie within his grasp. In either of these ways it is possible to divorce Faith and Facts, and the temptation to do this is never so strong as in the periods when the world appears to have lost the power of great achievement and the glory of ancient creeds and hopes. To see beyond the present, and yet never to be led by the distant vision into any betrayal or depreciation of the possible, the concrete, the actual and immediate good, is to combine in some degree the qualities of the idealist and the sanity of common sense. It is to unite the wider hope with a frank delight in all the right and wholesome realities of the narrower and ever passing present. Clement was not a man of singular and remarkable greatness. But he at least combines something of the higher and purer faith with a sound estimate of what lies to hand. A varied experience and a sincere Christianity had taught him to discover true values both beyond and within the limitations of his lot. In a later chapter we may again revert to the causes and characteristics of this happy optimism. For the

present, it is enough to notice how the new faith had given to him a range of hope and vision which effectually redeemed his nature from the shallow satisfactions, the bitter pessimism, the weariness and disgust with life, which were plentiful enough in his, as in every other similar age of human history. Yet withal he is never merely the dreamer, merely the ascetic, or merely the herald of a Paradise far removed. If Faith was strong with him, so too were Facts. Hence it came that he turned to good account such opportunities as were given. The closing decades of the second century were not rich in great inspirations; they had all the unsettlement of a transitional epoch; they manifest deep and obvious needs. Yet a sincere seeker after truth and light could discover in them opportunity and material for a career of useful service. To such purpose Clement lived, and the result was known in the history of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, in the many books that bore his name, in the development of Christian Theology, and in the lives and hearts of pupils who remembered with affection and gratitude the liberal and discursive master, who had taught them in the busy city of the Ptolemies how to harmonise things old and new.

CHAPTER IV

SIX CONTEMPORARIES

The interest of any period lies partly in the general tendencies and movements which predominate within it, but partly, also, in the particular lives and characters with which its memory remains associated. In other words, history and biography are rightly and inevitably connected, and the general trend of a civilisation becomes more real and intelligible through our closer acquaintance with persons, facts, and incidents. It would add greatly to our comprehension of Clement's work and character if we could study in detail his relations with a few of the men and women who knew him best. Against the general background of his surroundings in the closing decades of the second century we should like to set, in more precise outline and clearer colours, the manner of his intimacy with some one of his favourite pupils ; the opinions he allowed himself to express about Demetrius, his bishop, or Lætus, the governor ; the reception he received as an old man from Asclepiades in Antioch ; or the views and character of one of those "simple believers," who were so troubled by his dangerous teaching. But it is beyond our power to recover these personal elements of his story. His friends, as we know them, are his books : Plato, Homer, "the Apostle" are his intimate companions. His regard for the masters whom he had known is for their teaching ; their names he does

not even mention.[1] And when we have had our glimpse of his happy co-operation with Pantænus and noted the long-standing affection of Alexander, his former pupil, our knowledge of these matters is at an end. If we are to give any personal colouring to his life and environment, it must come, not from his immediate circle, but from the wider world outside. Indirectly, sometimes by the bare fact of their contemporaneity, sometimes by more special ties, we may associate him with a few of the men and women of his time.

In the records of the period there is no lack of incident and personal reminiscence. Had Clement spent his whole life as a traveller, instead of settling down in Alexandria, he might have witnessed many varied scenes in the human drama, of which the following are but samples. At Rome, outside the Pretorians' camp, he might have seen the elderly senator, Didius Julianus, bidding against Sulpicianus for an empire put up to auction.[2] In the capital, too, at a later date he might have found a place among the brilliant company of literary men and women whom Julia Domna, "Mater castrorum"[3] though she were, loved to gather in her learned and animated *salon*. Or, in Byzantium, he might have met with Priscus, the famous engineer, whose devices for the defence of the city in its three years' siege he would hardly have admired less than the Emperor himself or Dion Cassius, who was proud to claim Priscus as his countryman.[4] Again, he might have heard discussed in Christian circles the conduct of Callistus, slave and banker, whose mismanaged accounts and whose sentence in the mines of Sardinia were the prelude to such a strange chapter of Church history. In the wealthy capital of Syria he might

[1] 322; *cp.* The "Elders," 996 and elsewhere.
[2] Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 11; Herodian, ii. 6; Spartian, *Did. Julianus*, 2.
[3] Fuchs, *Severus*, p. 69.
[4] Dion Cassius, lxxiv. 11.

have debated with Serapion the merits and authenticity of the "Gospel of Peter."[1] Or again, in Hieropolis, he might have talked with Abercius, who, after many travels and much controversy with the Montanists, drew up in old age the notable inscription for his tomb, wherein he still requests to be remembered in the petitions of the faithful.[2] And, if some wandering mood had taken him right to the confines of the Empire, he might have watched the shadowy Fingal of Ossian's story sail in and out of his natural cave in the rocky cliffs of Staffa; or some soldier of the legions, serving on the Danube, take his part in the dedication of a fresh chapel to the Persian Sun-God Mithra.[3] Such things were taking place in the great world during Clement's lifetime. We shall associate him more definitely with his age if, for a few pages, our attention rests on the deeds and ways of some half-dozen of his contemporaries, before being again restricted to his individual achievements and career.

I. Septimius Severus, Imperator.

Let us render the things of Cæsar unto Cæsar and begin with an Emperor. The particular Emperor will naturally be Septimius Severus. This strenuous soldier was born on the 11th of April, A.D. 146, at Leptis in Tripoli. Thus, like Tertullian, he belonged to Roman Africa, and to the end of his life he retained the accent peculiar to the province.[4] For eighteen years Severus remained at home among his own people, but after that he came to Rome, where he made use of educational opportunities and became known through an uncle's influence to Marcus Aurelius. Of the following five and twenty years we have few details. There

[1] H.E., vi. 12.

[2] See Professor Knowling, art. *Abercius*, in Murray's *Dict. Christian Biography*.

[3] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, ii. 491 *sqq*.

[4] Spartian, *Severus*, 19, "Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans."

are hints of wild ways and criminal offences in the early period of manhood. Once, in the irony of circumstances, he was acquitted by Julianus, for whose death he was afterwards himself to give the order.[1] There are mentions of public offices diligently administered. There is a visit to his own country, to settle family affairs on his father's death. We see him in Rome as an official of the imperial treasury ; in Sardinia as quæstor ; in Africa as the proconsul's legate ; and then, after filling the positions of tribune and prætor, he is sent to Spain and shortly afterwards to a military command in Syria. For some reason or other his public career is at this point interrupted by an interval, apparently of some years' duration, which was spent in Athens.[2] Here he found many interests. The mysteries of Eleusis, the antiquities of the city, and other studies, filled his time ; but he left with a grievance against the people, which in later years he did not forget to repay.

Severus' public career was resumed by his appointment as legate of Gallia Lugdunensis, where his moderation and firm rule won the native goodwill to a singular degree. Then, after sharing the consulship in A.D. 190 with Apulius Rufinus, he received his appointment, destined shortly to be of such momentous importance, as Governor of Pannonia with legions in his command. Marcia, his first wife, had died early. He had subsequently married the Syrian lady, Julia Domna, whose two sons, at the death of Commodus in A.D. 192, would be three and four years old. Such were the preliminary stages of this notable career.

Then follows the critical period, with its perhaps unparalleled record of success. Pertinax had been murdered by the Pretorians early in A.D. 193. Didius Julianus had

[1] Spartian, *Severus*, 2.

[2] Fuchs, *op. cit.*, 7 ; de Ceuleneer, *Essai sur la vie et le règne de Septime Sévère*, p. 21.

bought the Empire and with it their support. But there was an evident opportunity for the master of troops more powerful than the Pretorians ; and the legions under Severus —probably not entirely without his instigation though he feigned reluctance at the moment—readily proclaimed him Emperor. The adhesion of the neighbouring legions, specially in Illyria where the fallen Pertinax was still remembered, was at once secured. There were rivals : Niger in Syria, who was the favourite in Rome ; and in Gaul, Clodius Albinus ; but these, though both like himself proclaimed Emperor, might for the moment be left. The immediate task was to make sure of Rome. The rapid march of Severus and his troops ; the fall of Julianus ; the reprimand and dispersion of the Pretorian Guards ; finally, the constrained assent of Senate and People to the *fait accompli* of his imperium, follow one another in rapid succession. Three months after his proclamation, Severus was master of the city and free to meet his rivals in the provinces.

The Eastern danger was the more pressing. It did not take long for his troops to make good his hold upon Europe, Byzantium alone offering serious resistance. But the crossing of the Taurus was a critical and difficult operation, and the battle on the historic ground of Issus was hard fought and severe. It ended, however, with Niger's flight and death ; and when Byzantium had fallen after a three years' siege and the frontier provinces had been further secured, no danger to the world's new master remained to detain him in the East. It was a task of shorter duration to deal with Albinus, though the fortunes of Severus were never more critical than when by an act of personal bravery he rallied his troops, as the day seemed more than doubtful, in the last fight at Lyons.[1] With this victory all was won, and for thirteen years, till death came upon him, old, ailing, and dis-

[1] Dion Cassius, lxxv. 6.

appointed, in the city of York, on 11th February, A.D. 211, no external dangers menaced the security of his rule.

These years of undisputed Imperium fall into three periods, spent respectively in the East, in Rome, in Britain. After inflicting harsh penalties on the partisans of Albinus, over thirty of whom from the Senate alone fell before his relentless severity, he set out, more, his critics said, from the restless desire for deeds and glory than from imperial necessities, for a Parthian campaign.[1] This proved tedious and costly, though, on the fall of Ctesiphon, he assumed the title "Parthicus" and was offered a triumph by the Senate, an honour which, owing to his frequent infirmity of gout, he was compelled to allow his elder son to celebrate in his stead. It was on his return in A.D. 202 that he visited Alexandria and found a pleasure, which he never forgot, in exploring the antiquities of Egypt. Administrative order as much as operations in the field occupied his attention throughout these years; the statement "Plurima jura fundavit"[2] seems not to have applied to his journey through Palestine alone.

Next, from A.D. 202 to 208, comes the only continuous period of any length spent in Rome. His life was as busy there as in the provinces, and men remembered his diligence in the law courts and his care for the great city's food supplies. But the years can hardly have been happy. They witnessed that phenomenon, so strange and so far from uncommon in the annals of unusual greatness, the rise and overweening arrogance of a favourite. Plautianus,[3] like the Emperor, of African origin, played this *rôle* in the court of Severus, embittering his relations with Julia Domna and his own family, and establishing his position with such

[1] "Gloriæ cupiditate non aliqua necessitate deductus." Spartian, *Severus*, 15.

[2] *Ib.*, 17.

[3] Dion Cassius' account (lxxv. 14–lxxvi. 6) is the fullest.

apparent security that the fall of the heavens seemed more probable than that any disaster should overtake his favourite by the Emperor's will. Other means, however, brought his end. Caracalla's orders, though in his father's presence, closed this ambitious and malign career. But a worse trouble lay even more intimately near. The two sons, for whom as his successors he had laboured with such untiring persistence, brought him graver sorrow than any cares of State. They belied the promise of their earlier years, fell under the worst influences of city life, and were bitterly jealous and hostile one to the other. Neither counsel nor authority were of any avail, and Julia seems to have been as powerless as the Emperor.

For their discipline, as much as for needs of State, Severus set out with them and their mother for the campaign in Britain in the year A.D. 208.[1] He is said to have felt convinced that he would never return to Rome, and so it fell out. Many months were spent in Caledonia, as ill adapted as any of the numerous countries in which they ever served, to the tactics of the legions. Dion says the campaign cost the Empire 50,000 soldiers' lives; and Severus must have followed the army in his sick man's litter with a heavy heart. Terms were arranged with the northern tribes, and Hadrian's wall was restored; and then the long-standing disease, aggravated by cares of camp and home, brought the end that must surely have been welcome. He was sixty-five years of age, and his ashes after cremation were placed in Hadrian's tomb, better known to the modern traveller as the "Castle of Saint Angelo."

It has been worth while narrating in some little detail the incidents of this Imperial History because, incidentally,

[1] Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 11: Ἐπὶ Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε τούς τε παῖδας ἐκδιαιτωμένους ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑπ' ἀργίας ἐκλυόμενα, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσεται.

we gain thereby some idea of the course of the great world's events during the most important years of Clement's life. We should like to know whether Clement ever formed any judgment on this most powerful of his contemporaries. Alexandria, in the war between the rival Imperators, took sides not with Severus but with the Eastern general. It is notable that few Alexandrian coins survive which bear Severus' image, though there are many from the reign of Commodus.[1] Clement must have often seen the inscription, which openly committed the city to Niger's party and needed such diplomatic explanation after Niger's fall.[2] Doubtless he knew also of the anxiety felt in Rome lest the war should imperil its supplies of corn.[3] Also there must have been talk in Alexandria about the fortunes of Cœranus, the associate of Plautianus and the first Egyptian who was ever admitted to the senatorial order.[4] Clement may have even seen Severus in A.D. 202, when he came to Alexandria. Whatever he heard or knew of him, the Emperor's career and character would hardly fall within Clement's scheme and theory of human life. The attitude of the Christian and the philosopher to the man of action is not always appreciative.

Severus, indeed, is primarily the very embodiment of outward power and success. The kingdoms of this world were offered to him in Pannonia, and he accepted the offer and compelled Fortune to adhere to her compact. Throughout his rule he would tolerate no rival, and, with the exception of his favourite, he crushed relentlessly each antagonism. The Imperium was a military office. It had

[1] Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum*, iv. 77 *sqq.*

[2] Suidas, s.v. *Severus*: Τοῦ Κυρίου Νίγρου ἡ πόλις. They said it meant "The city belongs to Niger's master."

[3] Spartian, *Severus*, 8.

[4] Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 5.

been so for long, but Severus recognised the fact and said frankly, what no previous Cæsar had cared to allow, that while the legions were well paid, other considerations were of slight account.[1] He was hard and strong and confident and determined, with an admiration, certainly genuine, for his kindlier predecessor, Marcus, but with also a resolute conviction that the paternal rule of the Antonines for himself, in altered conditions, was entirely impossible. So he never forgave, and he never hesitated, and he ran no risks through mercy. With all the vehemence of his African temperament he carried through what he took in hand; the end, be the cost and means what they might, was secured. Thus he told the Senate that Marius and Sulla were the only safe examples,[2] disavowed gentleness and moderation, based his rule on fear rather than on goodwill. Following this policy, he would make promises which he never intended to fulfil: he would execute senators and women who had taken sides against him: he would put his own generals to death on suspicion: he would one day make evident his contempt for rumour and another act passionately on the slightest hint. Men were struck by the rapidity of his action and by the simplicity of his life. There was not a privation his soldiers underwent which he did not share,[3] and when disease and age had enfeebled his body, Herodian says he still retained the soul of youth. He had all the force and all the cleverness which the Greeks denoted by a single term,[4] and so great a genius for individual rule that, when he was no more, men said of him, He should either never have been born or have never died.[5] Money and the legions were the

[1] Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 15. [2] Dion Cassius, lxxv. 8.
[3] "En vrai capitaine," de Ceuleneer, *Essai*, p. 40.
[4] δεινότης. δεινότατος ὁ Σέβηρος, Dion Cassius, lxxiii. 15.
[5] "Aut nasci non debuisse aut mori," Spartian, 18.

realities he recognised, and on this basis he ruled the Roman world for eighteen years, with a success which the historian of his period had good grounds for regarding as unparalleled.

Only by these means, as Severus thought, could he be secure of power. Probably he was right. Certainly in the case of Pertinax other methods had brought quick disaster. In any case the use of power is probably more important than the manner of its attainment. And Severus, primarily intent on securing power for himself and for his house, did unquestionably use his position well. The world while he ruled was secure, and there was just pride in his boast that he left the Empire at peace "even in Britain."[1] Administration in the provinces was better organised, and many a city had to thank him for larger liberties. Alexandria had a Senate by his order, and Tripoli, his own country, was protected from the attacks of its neighbours. He was specially diligent in the law courts, where he would hear cases till midday, and proceedings were never hurried. It was the golden age of Roman Jurisprudence and, autocratic as the Emperor was, he seems to have treated the great jurists, Papinius and his kind, with singular respect. In finance especially his influence was notable. His desire for revenue was notorious,[2] and there were relentless confiscations of property when he could find sufficient cause. But the imperial resources were well spent. Even the high pay of the legionaries was defensible as a necessity of the situation and the price of internal peace.[3] He was a great builder, and many ancient structures were restored by public

[1] Spartian, 23.

[2] *ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐν αὐτῷ φιλοχρηματίας*, Herodian, iii. 8. *ἠργυρολόγησε δεινῶς*, Dion Cassius, lxxiv. 8.

[3] "Il est préférable de voir le despotisme sur le trône que l'anarchie dans les masses," is the remark of de Ceuleneer, 146. *Cp.* Duruy, in *Revue historique*, juillet-août, 1878.

funds. Roads were constructed in the provinces, and men could travel with increased facility over the great Saint Bernard, or along the coast from Sidon to the port of Tyre. Conveyances at the public cost were first provided in his reign. When he died the treasury was full and the public granaries held seven years' supplies of corn. These were great services, and men who remembered Commodus must have realised that even a hard ruler may do good.

Moreover, so far as opportunity allowed, he was a man of culture. He wrote his own memoirs. He was noted for his skill in astrology,[1] even following its guidance in his choice of Julia Domna for his bride. He studied, as we have seen, in Athens, and found delight and interest in the treasures and antiquities of Egypt. Where other matters did not intervene, he habitually spent the later portion of his day in intellectual pursuits.[2] He could appreciate a good defence, even in a culprit. When any subject struck his fancy he would follow it up with extraordinary interest.[3] Cares of State and active service left him more able than many men of his type to value the treasures which belong to books and information and the mind. What share, we wonder, did he take in the discussions of Julia and her philosophic friends?

His attitude to religion, and in particular to Christianity, has naturally been much discussed. Severus had no special care for the gods of Rome. Officially he might be irritated at his sister's inability to speak Latin:[4] but at heart he was sufficiently cosmopolitan, with more interest in divination, foreign deities, and the mysteries, than in the sanctities to which a Cæsar was expected to pay regard. Perhaps in his creed, as well as in his government, there was a touch of Orientalism. In the main he was tolerant enough of Christianity.

[1] Spartian, *Niger*, 9.
[2] Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 17.
[3] *Ib.*, lxxv. 13.
[4] Spartian, 15.

He is said to have employed Proculus,[1] a Christian doctor, and there is some evidence that Christian influences were at work in the early training of his sons. There was joy in the Church at Byzantium when his generals at last took the city, though we do not know the reason.[2] He is also said to have defended Christians from the hostility of the mob. Tertullian unhesitatingly reckons him as among the favourable Emperors, and the persecutions which occurred during his rule must be set down mainly to the local action of the governors or the populace. On the whole, the Church had peace and opportunity in his reign, though less completely than in the days of Commodus. The most notable exception was his well-known pronouncement against further conversions to Christianity and the persecution in Alexandria, to which Eusebius refers and owing to which Clement fled from the city.[3] We must probably connect the persecution with Severus's visit to Alexandria, and suppose that during his stay in Egypt Severus was led by special reasons to assent to more active measures for checking the Christian propaganda. It is difficult to believe that he issued any edict for a general persecution. How, all unconsciously, he was facilitating the later triumph of the Church by weakening ancient institutions and breaking old barriers, has been pointed out by historians.[4] It is strange how frequently the faith has been indebted to Gallio. On the other hand, he undoubtedly interrupted Clement's career and perhaps prevented the completion of the *Stromateis*.

Over the life of this man of singular force and achievement there rests a certain atmosphere of pathos. He was so entirely successful, yet so unsatisfied. "Omnia fui," he

[1] Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 4. [2] *Ib.*, 3. [3] See Appendix I.

[4] Aubé, *Les chrétiens dans l'empire romain*, pp. 60 *sqq.*: "Rien de plus heureux pour le progrès et la paix de l'Église que cet amoindrissement des institutions civiles."

said, "et nihil expedit,"[1] and those are poignant words. He was hard and cruel, but circumstances made him so: "factus est durior"[2] we are told. He was feared in life; only when he was gone did the subject world, for which he did so much, love and understand him. Was he happy with Julia? We wonder: there were rumours. He loved his children. The one desire of his later life was to leave the Empire to sons fit to follow in his steps. And year by year he watched this hope fade into impossibility, till he knew at last that it could never be. There was no remedy, but occupation may have been a sort of narcotic: "Laboremus"[3] was characteristically his latest watchword. He could hardly have given the "Æquanimitas" of Antoninus Pius. In his vigorous relentless way he served his day and generation, and, though men counted him as one of the authors of the Empire's decline, it may be questioned whether the strong rule of competent and public spirited despotism was not the safest policy for the times, could the right succession only have been secured.

Yet he must at times have asked himself the question, which so frequently confronts men in the era of a decadent civilisation, "Was it indeed worth while?" "Un trait qui caractérise les grands hommes européens est, à certaines heures, de donner raison à Épicure, d'être pris de dégoût tout en travaillant avec ardeur, et, après avoir réussi, de douter si la cause qu'ils ont servie valait tant de sacrifices."[4] Of few men could this have been said more truly than of Septimius Severus. As we contemplate the triumphal arch erected in the Forum in his honour and realise the significance of Geta's obliterated name, or as, in the Salle de Sévère in the Louvre and in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, we inspect the many busts

[1] Spartian, 18.
[2] Spartian, *Niger*, 6.
[3] Spartian, 23.
[4] Renan, *Antechrist*, p. 101.

and coins which bring back the one African Imperator and his period to human memory, we may reflect that the Imperium of the Romans, like the philosophy of the Greeks, had failed to satisfy completely the demands of the human spirit; that, in other words, the new religion had not come undemanded or before its time.

II. Victor, Bishop of Rome.

If the Empire in Clement's lifetime found its strong ruler in Severus, so did the Church in Victor. He is said, like the Emperor, to have been by birth an African, and there is no reason to question the tradition.[1] Whatever his origin, he was a Latin, nay, a Roman in spirit, and his aims and character stand revealed clearly enough in the records of his episcopate, in spite of the abundant uncertainties which beset its details. Approximately, he was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 189 to 198. Eleutherus his predecessor, Zephyrinus his successor in the Roman see, each held office for a longer term. But they were mild and negligible persons compared with Victor, who was the greatest Roman Bishop of Clement's lifetime, albeit he had the least in common with his philosophic contemporary and with the general Alexandrian mind.

In Victor, then, it is neither with the theologian nor with the saint, but with the ecclesiastical statesman that we have to do, and he has all the qualities of his type. The Church to him was primarily a great institution. He was quick to realise the conditions of its effectiveness: quick to recognise what might be made of the office of a Bishop, or of the imperial position of the Roman See. Like many of his successors, he had no mind for speculation, but he knew that heresy was practically dangerous, and that, if truth was sometimes uncertain, union at least meant always

[1] "Natione Afer," *Liber Pontificalis*, xv. [i. p. 137, ed. Duchesne].

strength. So he cared more about the Church than about the Churches, and had a truly papal indifference to the fortunes and sensibilities of the individual, where the interests of the society, as he understood them, were at stake. To observe how these characteristics emerge from our limited knowledge of his career is to come as close as the fragmentary records allow to a great Churchman, whose interest, from the standpoint of all friends of Clement, is principally by way of contrast.

Best known, though perhaps not earliest in date, is his treatment of the Easter controversy.[1] The Churches of the Province of Asia still adhered to the Jewish practice of observing this festival on the fourteenth of the month instead of on Sunday, the day of the Resurrection. Thus Mosaic rather than Christian considerations determined for them the incidence of this central feast. When Asiatic Christians visited the "Ecclesia principalis," they did not observe Roman ways in Rome, but clung tenaciously to their own practice, which became more exceptional every decade. Anicetus (154–165), when Polycarp had been guest of his Church, accepted the fact that the Bishop of Smyrna observed Easter on a different day from the Bishop of Rome. His successors, Soter (*c.* 165–174) and Eleutherus (*c.* 174–189), seem to have been less tolerant of the diversity. Meantime the Church, notably in Rome, had grown in weight and numbers, and the more Christians travelled from Church to Church, the greater the awkwardness and damage of this unsolved dispute. So Victor did not create, but recognised a cause for action.

His first step was to secure from his own Church an expression of opinion that the question was one which ought

[1] H.E., v. 22 *sqq.*; Jerome, *De viris illust.*, 34; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, v. 22; Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, i. 182 *sqq.*; Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, ii. 221 *sqq.*

to be discussed,[1] as a result of which many synods were held. In Rome, Gaul, Pontus, Palestine, Osrhoene, Corinth, and also in Asia, the point was debated by episcopal councils. It is noteworthy that no communications appear to have passed between Rome and Alexandria on the matter, although, upon the point at issue, these two great centres were agreed. The outcome of this certainly diplomatic move on Victor's part was to leave the Churches of Asia in manifest and declared isolation. There are few ecclesiastical documents of greater weight and dignity than the noble letter[2] in which Polycrates, the aged Bishop of Ephesus, defended the practice of these Churches as against the Roman desire for a different uniformity. Yet even this venerable plea fails to make their case a good one, and so far Victor had a consensus on his side. He would have been wise to leave the controversy at this stage. Time would perhaps have brought the eventual uniformity more quickly had he trusted to its working, but we must remember that he had the African temperament, and few men of his race could be restrained and cautious, when once they desired to see results attained. So he proceeded to stronger measures. The Roman Church would have been well within its rights had it declared that, until so serious a diversity had been removed, communion between its own members and the Churches of Asia could not be. But Victor's action went considerably further. On his own supposed individual authority as Bishop of Rome, he formally cut off the Churches of the whole province of Asia from the common fellowship of Christianity.[3] He is said to have deposed their Bishops, to have

[1] This seems clear from the expression in Polycrates letter to Victor, H.E., v. 24, οὓς (*sc.* τοὺς ἐπισκόπους) ὑμεῖς ἠξιώσατε μετακληθῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

[2] H.E., v. 24.

[3] ἀποτέμνειν . . . πειρᾶται, H.E., v. 24. "Multos episcopos . . . damnandos crediderat," Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 35. ἀκοινωνησίαν . . . ἀπέστειλεν, Socrates, v. 22.

despatched to them letters of excommunication, and to have "placarded" their ignominy and isolation. Whether the authorities are, in any of these details, reading the Church's later practice into an earlier century, we cannot say. His action, beyond doubt, was individual and extreme. Victor's violent policy met, however, with little support. Most of the Bishops disagreed. Irenæus, in particular, true to his name, wrote to Victor a beautiful letter of peaceable reproof. And the ban fell harmless on Polycrates and his company. They went their own way. We have no evidence that Christian visitors to Smyrna and Ephesus were fewer in the next century. Zephyrinus and Callistus, the succeeding Roman Bishops, were hardly the men to follow up Victor's unsuccessful measure.

It is easy to criticise his action and to see that he spoiled a good cause by procedure which was violent and *ultra vires*. But where the standard of Christian charity condemns him, the course of Ecclesiastical History merely shows him to have been before his time. He saw the Church must break all links which still tied it to Judaism. He saw that Rome must one day claim a spiritual "Imperium"; and that an individual Bishop could act, where councils would only consider and debate. The contention is, no doubt, true that the original development of Catholicism was mainly determined by the growth of Roman Christianity.[1] Victor's episcopate marks a stage in this process. To foresee the course of events, to apprehend the needs of the moment, justly entitle a man to credit for his statesmanship, however far these things may be from conferring on him the mind of Christ.

It was not alone in matters of order that Victor had to take decided action. Doctrine, too, came before his notice,

[1] Harnack, *Hist. Dogm.*, ii. 149. Excursus on *Catholic and Roman.*

and no Bishop who was a contemporary of Irenæus would be likely to forget that, by virtue of his office, he was responsible for the protection of the faith from error. Heresies had been abundantly taught in Rome in the days of Eleutherus, and Victor may have thought that things had been allowed to drift too far. A case soon arose. Before the siege of Byzantium, early therefore in Victor's episcopate, Theodotus, an educated leather merchant of that city, who had incurred opprobrium by denying the faith to save his life, settled in Rome and taught "Psilanthropism."[1] Practically, he was a Unitarian. Christ, he taught, was man, but not God. Theodotus defended this position with some acumen and claimed scriptural grounds for it, without which indeed he would hardly have found a hearing. When attacked by the orthodox, he replied that he had denied man, not God. This heresy grew to considerable dimensions, and Victor decided to deal with it. Theodotus was not answered, but excommunicated. Probably the Roman Bishop gave few reasons, and did not discuss theology. Eusebius, at any rate, knew of no writing of Victor's on the subject, though he was well aware that his episcopate was remembered for its marked rejection of all such views.

There are two other points of doctrine with which the association of Victor's name is more doubtful. The decision in each case depends on the interpretation of a passage in Tertullian. It is stated in the *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*,[2] that "Victorinus" gave his support to a heresy of Praxeas, who was the master of Sabellius and one of the earliest teachers of Modalism. Is it Victor who is really intended by this "Victorinus"? The identi-

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, liv. 1; H.E., v. 28.

[2] 53. "Praxeas quidam hæresin introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit."

fication is very often made.[1] If we accept it, we find Victor ranged with Modalists and Patripassians. We see him bringing the doctrine of the separate Persons into peril by inclining to Monarchianism, and this after driving Theodotus from the Church for his repudiation of the same doctrine through the denial of the Lord's manhood. All, of course, depends on the admissibility of the identification of Victor with the "Victorinus" of Tertullian.

In the second passage Praxeas is again concerned.[2] He is said to have "managed two businesses for the devil in Rome." He "crucified the Father," a result which is involved by all Sabellianism, Modalism, Monarchianism. But he also "drove out prophecy," or, in other words, induced the Bishop of Rome to recall a formal recognition of Montanism, which had been actually despatched to its adherents in Asia and Phrygia, when Praxeas, by slanderous reports, as Tertullian held them, arrested the episcopal sanction and goodwill. Again, there is a question, was this Bishop Victor? Opinion is greatly divided. It may have been Eleutherus,[3] or possibly Zephyrinus.[4] If it was Victor,[5] as is more probable if his name has already been rightly associated with that of Praxeas, then no doubt we have to account for a somewhat sudden

[1] Harnack accepts it. See *Der pseudo-cyprianische Tractat de Aleatoribus*, 115 (in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v.); also *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, I. (ii), 596. It is questioned in Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, art. "Victor." Langen, *Geschichte*, i. 196, regards it as probable, but not certain.

[2] *Adv. Praxean*, 1.

[3] Harnack, *Der ps.-cyp. Tract. de Aleat.*, 114, inclines to this view. So Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, ii. 186.

[4] So Dr Salmon thought: Murray's *Dict. Christian Biography*, art. "Montanus."

[5] Reasons for this view are given in Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, art "Victor."

change of policy on the part of a ruler who usually knew his own mind.

Yet, if we consider his action in these different doctrinal cases as a whole, connecting together his severity towards Theodotus, his support of Modalism, his sudden decision against Montanism, and throughout remembering that the interpretation of the two important references in Tertullian is doubtful, the result is still psychologically consistent. There is the same strength of action as in dealing with the Easter controversy. But there is evident lack of clear insight into the theological issues. Bishops of this type are ever liable to fall under the influence of a Praxeas. On the plane of order and authority they move and act with assurance and precision, if not in every case with wisdom. Where the prior and finer issues of doctrine and outlook have to be decided, the limitations of their assertive temperaments come to light. Victor was as little at home in dealing with purely theological subjects, as Clement would have been in administering a diocese. He was not at heart a man of books.[1] So soon, however, as he realises that from any quarter danger is threatening the institution, his course and action are clear and decided. The ruler and the thinker are so fundamentally different in nature, that it need surprise us little if Victor can lay no claim to double eminence.

In his internal administration of the Church in Rome, he was wise, firm, politic. It was probably under his *régime* that the first Christian burying-place, the Cœmeterium Sancti Callisti, was acquired. Victor sent this same Callistus, on his return from imprisonment in Sardinia, to

[1] His "mediocria volumina" (v.l. "non mediocria") mentioned in Jerome, *Chronicle*, ad ann. 194, were not greatly influential. The utmost that can be said for his literary activity (as by Harnack, *Der ps.-cyp. Tractat*, 119 *sqq.*) leaves him interesting as possibly the earliest Latin Christian writer, but still devoid of eminence on this ground.

live on an allowance at Antium. In this way he avoided scandal and was rid of a clever man, who would certainly have caused him trouble. The "monthly allowance"[1] took away all appearance of harshness, but the very fact that Victor could order an individual member of the Church to reside where he himself thought best, is no slight evidence of his genius for authority. He knew Marcia,[2] the favourite of Commodus, intimately. We have no means of gauging the extent to which his influence sustained her interest in Christianity, but it is sufficiently evident that he made the most of his position in the confidence of this important member of Cæsar's household. At court, as in administration, the ability and persistence of the man stand clear. And, until he blundered in his attempted excommunication of the Quartodecimans, it is evident that his relations with other Bishops, notably with Irenæus, were wise and happy. They knew his value and were willing alike to accept his leadership and tender him advice.

Such was this "first of the grand series of statesmen who have held the Roman see."[3] Again, as we dismiss him, let us observe how clearly the characteristics of this well-known type of ecclesiastical leader emerge in the records of Victor's ten years' episcopate. There is no great evidence of interior devotion, or of the quest for personal holiness. There is little love of truth as truth ; little desire to hear the case from the other side ; an almost evident distrust of too much debate and learning. But there is vigour and dignity and vigilant watchfulness over the Church's interests ; no shrinking from any step which these demand, no shadow of hesitation when the time to act has come. These men make mistakes, but they make much else. They may not

[1] *μηνιαῖόν τι ἐκτροφῆς*, Hippolytus, ix. 12.
[2] Hippolytus, *loc. cit.*
[3] Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, ii. 221.

escape criticism, but they compel obedience, and opportunities, whether financial, ecclesiastical, or diplomatic, are rarely missed. Reading the signs of their age, and not infrequently avoiding contests if they cannot win, the Churchmen of Victor's type have left their stamp and mark upon many a page of the ecclesiastical story. They are not among the most lovable products of Christianity, but they are probably a necessary class, so long as the Church is to accomplish its mission upon the human plane. They are not usually gifted with the philosophical breadth of view, or with the humility which makes true great men, but then "il est difficile à l'homme d'action d'être modeste ; il risque d'être pris au mot."[1] Clement and Victor knew one another at most by name ; certainly neither could have appreciated the other's qualities. Yet each, with evident limitations, was accomplishing a worthy service.

III. Marcia.

Reference has already been made to the important passage in Eusebius, in which the historian speaks of the more favourable conditions which opened for the Church with the accession of Commodus.[2] From about A.D. 180 to 202, Christianity had a period of singular freedom and opportunity. There were, no doubt, occasional instances of persecution. Apollonius perished in Rome.[3] The martyrs of Scillita suffered at Carthage under Commodus, though very early after his accession.[4] And the reference to persecutions in Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*,[5] belongs most likely to the same reign. But the general peace of the Church under Commodus is not brought into question by

[1] Renan, *Saint Paul*, 447.
[2] H.E., v. 21. [3] H.E., *loc. cit.*
[4] See J. A. Robinson, *The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, in Texts and Studies, i. 106–7. [5] iii. 30.

these exceptions. The conditions which so eminently favoured Clement's labours in Alexandria commenced, strangely enough, with the reign of one of the most worthless and disreputable of the Cæsars. Several influences tended to bring about this result, among them the curious career of a somewhat remarkable woman.

Commodus left the Christians alone partly because he troubled himself as little as possible about the administration of the Empire. The spread of new creeds caused him as little concern as the depletion of his treasury, and he was quite untrammelled by the reverence of his father, Marcus, for the venerable traditions of the religion of the State. But the more positive reason for his tolerance was to be found in the influence of his favourite Marcia. To some extent, an extent certainly considerable, however difficult to estimate exactly, Clement's work was rendered possible by this woman's position in the Imperial household. Our interest in the Alexandrian master may thus extend itself to Marcia as one of his contemporaries. We have some certain knowledge of her life, and where certainty fails the questions at issue are not uninteresting.

Of her origin and parentage nothing is definitely clear. Her family are said to have been freedmen.[1] It has also been suggested that she was a foundling. In any case her early training seems to have been in the hands of a certain Hyacinthus, who was a eunuch, a Christian, possibly a priest of the Church. Whether Hyacinthus failed in watchfulness for his charge, or whether circumstances left neither him nor Marcia any choice, in any case she became the concubine of Umidius Quadratus, a young Roman of good family and abundant means. Later writers, both ancient and modern, have brought many charges against Marcia's character, and have spoken of the abandoned

[1] "Generis libertini," Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, xvii.

ways of her early years.[1] But there is no evidence that she ever sank to the level of a common courtesan ; and a phrase in Dion's narrative seems to imply that her relations with Quadratus, though not those of legalised marriage, were still faithful.[2] In her position as his mistress she first became associated with Eclectus, who was chamberlain of the household and had held similar positions under Marcus Aurelius.[3] Of this connection we shall hear more.

Quadratus was intimate with Lucilla, the eldest sister of Commodus and wife of a certain Pompeianus. For various reasons, great enmity arose between his sister and the Emperor, and Lucilla became involved with Quadratus in a plot against his life. This was discovered, and both she and her accomplice perished. Commodus took over from the establishment of Quadratus both his chamberlain Eclectus and his mistress. Soon after, Crispina, the lawful Empress, was first exiled to Capreæ and then executed on a charge of adultery. This left Marcia, though Commodus had many women in his harem, without a rival, and for nine years she appears to have known better than anyone else in Rome how to manage this low, unlovable master of the world. She was a woman of great charm and beauty. She claimed, however strange the claim, to have a genuine love and affection for her lord.[4] She was patient and diplomatic with him in his insolent and drunken moods. Commodus on his part was delighted and infatuated. He loved to array her handsome beauty in the attire of an Amazon. In her honour he would enter the arena in similar garb, and probably cared little when he was nicknamed "Amazonius" for his whim.[5] Marcia's features in this

[1] "Meretriciis artibus pollens," Aurel. Victor, *l.c.*; "Elle ne fut qu'une simple courtisane," de Ceuleneer in *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. 20, juillet 1876, p. 164.

[2] lxxii. 13 : ἡ τοῦ Κουαδράτου.

[3] Capitolinus, *Verus*, 9.

[4] εὐνοία τε καὶ στοργή, Herodian, i. 17, 5.

[5] Lampridius, *Commodus*, 11.

headdress still survive, side by side with those of Commodus, on the coins of the period. To none of the many ladies about his court did he pay similar honour. Every mark and sign which belonged to a lawfully wedded Empress were accorded to Marcia, with the exception of the royal fire.[1] Her position was that of a morganatic wife rather than that of a mistress, and if she is spoken of as "the Empress Marcia,"[2] the term is hardly open to criticism. She appears to have used her influence in the main for good ends. It was she who helped to bring about the downfall of the ambitious and detested Cleander, and there were occasions when she would entreat the Emperor to forgo some peculiarly degrading performance on which he had set his heart.

To Marcia the Christian Church owed an undoubted debt. Both Christian and non-Christian evidence exists to prove her favour and goodwill. "She is said to have been very active on behalf of the Christians, and to have conferred on them many benefits, as might well be through her great influence with Commodus." That is Dion's statement,[3] and Dion was alive at the time. Hippolytus gives us an even clearer picture.[4] He speaks of this "religious concubine" as wishing to do some good deed, and describes how with this intent she sent for Bishop Victor, and obtained from him a list of the Christians imprisoned in the Sardinian mines. He gave her the names required, excepting only that of Callistus, with whose story the episode is connected. Then Marcia secured from Commodus the order for their liberation. Hyacinthus, her old guardian, was at once despatched with this document, and the Church's captive members restored to freedom. It is a very graphic and instructive incident.

[1] Herodian, i. 16, 4.
[2] As in Harnack, *Mission*, ii. 78.
[3] lxxii. 4.
[4] ix. 12. She was φιλόθεος παλλακὴ Κομμόδου.

From these definite and indisputable statements it follows that, throughout the Empire, the subordinate authorities would know that the active persecution of Christianity might receive scant approval in higher places. Every provincial governor, the prefect of Egypt among the rest, would be careful to run no risks of arousing the hostility of this powerful lady. Hence, in part, the Church's "minor peace." Marcia's influence lasted to the close of the reign.

How this close came is graphically told in Herodian's narrative. Marcia had united with Lætus, Prefect of the Pretorian Guards, and with Eclectus already mentioned, in urging Commodus not to carry out his intention of appearing in public on the great festival of Janus amidst a company of gladiators. He proposed to wear their armour in the place of the royal purple, and to come forth for his share in the festivities, not from the Imperial palace, but from the gladiator's quarters. Angry at their opposition —Marcia's influence failed for once—he retired to his chamber and wrote in a notebook a list of persons to be executed that evening. The first name was Marcia's, next stood Lætus and Eclectus. A favourite child entering the room found this notebook, left upon his bed by Commodus who had gone to the bath. Picking it up in a child's way, the boy left the chamber with it and met Marcia, who took it from his hand and read the contents. She lost no time. Eclectus was summoned and heard the tale. Then a message was sent to Lætus. Marcia, it was arranged, should give the Emperor poison on his return, and this was done, but the drug did not at once fulfil its purpose. So Narcissus the athlete was called in and the Emperor suffocated. Later on, Marcia married Eclectus, with whose name the court gossip had previously connected her.[1]

[1] Dion Cassius, lxxii. 4, ἡ δὲ παλλακὴ (*sc.* τοῦ Κομμόδου) ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦ Ἐκλέκτου μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή.

Eclectus perished with Pertinax. Marcia was put to death by Didius Julianus. She was too dangerous a person to be left alive in those days of change and trouble. So closed her strange history.

Two points of uncertainty may be mentioned. Was this all but imperial lady the Marcia named in an extant inscription[1] as having had a statue erected in her honour at Anagnia, and as having contributed generously to the restoration of that city's public baths? A connected inscription[2] mentions a certain Euodias, whose name, it is just possible, was known to Tertullian as having a Christian agent in his employ.[3] There are difficulties in the identification of the Marcia of the court of Commodus with the Marcia of Anagnia, though these cannot be discussed in detail here.[4] Still, the suggestion is interesting and has not been definitely disproved. The Christians would not have thought better of their patroness for her share, if she really had any, in the restoration of the baths in even a provincial town.

More important, perhaps, is the question whether Marcia was actually herself a Christian, understanding by the term a baptized person, living in the Church's fellowship. If her relations with Quadratus and Commodus were forced upon her and matters of no option, they would not have been regarded as sinful.[5] A Christian woman was not expected to save her chastity by her life. Thus the suggestion is possible and various views have been entertained.

[1] C.I.L., x. (i.), 5918. [2] C.I.L., x. (i.), 5917.

[3] Proculus, the Christian doctor above referred to (p. 107), was "Euhodæ procurator." Tert., *ad Scap.*, 4. But the form of the name has been much suspected.

[4] Mommsen, C.I.L., accepts it. So de Ceuleneer, *op. cit.*, 159. Langen (*Geschichte*, i. p. 176) and Aubé (*Revue Archéologique*, mars 1879, p. 157), dissent.

[5] See Augustine, *De civitate dei*, i. 16 *sqq.*; *Apost. constit.*, viii. 32.

Some have thought that Marcia was advised and allowed to use her position in the Church's interests. Others have minimised her connection with Christianity and been inclined to believe all the scandal true. She was "non une chrétienne achevée, mais une âme en travail de christianisme."[1] "This unhappy woman was a Christian."[2] "We cannot count her as a Christian."[3] She "was a zealous Christian . . . in all probability she was in the communion of the Church and was admitted to the Sacraments."[4] So the verdicts and authorities differ. Careful examination of the language of Dion Cassius and of Hippolytus leads to the view that, in their belief, Marcia was a friend to the Christians, without definitely belonging to their number.[5] In this intermediate status it is best her memory should remain. Some tribute of gratitude is not the less due to her for the peace and security which rendered possible Clement's career in Alexandria, while Commodus was killing tigers in the arena, and Roman society wondering whether to regard its imperial master as more terrible or ridiculous.

IV. Maximus of Tyre.

Maximus of Tyre must have been Clement's senior by some twenty years. It is probable that as a boy he shared the rejoicings of the Tyrians, when Hadrian closed a long dispute by deciding that Tyre and not Sidon should henceforth be recognised as "Metropolis."[6] In old age he may have had experience, or at least have been told, of the sufferings of his native city at the hands of Niger's army, and of the joy of the citizens when their loyalty to the

[1] Aubé, *op. cit.*, 163. [2] Bigg, *Origins of Christianity*, 229.
[3] Gwatkin, *op cit.*, i. 171.
[4] Döllinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, E.T., p. 173.
[5] So Dr Salmon. Murray's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, art. "Marcia."
[6] Suidas, *s.v.* Παῦλος Τύριος.

fortunes of Severus was rewarded by the Emperor's grant of the *Jus Italicum* and other privileges.[1] But for the greater part of his life Maximus had no very close association with the wealthy emporium which had been his birthplace. He was one of the many itinerant teachers of his day, who blended the art of the professional orator with the serious purposes of philosophy. In this capacity, like Dion Chrysostom before him, Maximus travelled widely, probably finding audiences in many cities, but acquainted also, either by his travels or through books, with Arabia, Phrygia, and other less populous places of the earth.[2] Twice at least he stayed in Rome. There is a statement in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius[3] to the effect that he was one of the tutors of Marcus Aurelius, but this is probably due to his being confused with another teacher of the same name. Our knowledge of him depends almost entirely upon the forty extant lectures or discussions[4] which were delivered in Rome during the reign of Commodus, and consequently during Clement's residence in Alexandria.

With no claim to greatness and little gift of originality, Maximus is still an interesting person. He shows us philosophy come down from the heights, and assisting serious people to form right and sane views on matters now of practical, now of theoretical, interest. His orations, as others have remarked, bear frequently very close resemblance to the sermon, and that he was personally of a religious nature can hardly be doubtful. He is eclectic, a Platonist who had learned also from Aristotle and the

[1] Herodian, iii. 3. See, too, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. "Phœnicia."

[2] Note the countries mentioned in Oratio ii. : *cp.* Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III. (ii.) 203 n.

[3] Ad Olymp., 232 (A.D. 152).

[4] In the references to these the order and numbers of the Teubner edition are followed.

Stoics, and who could find much to praise in the ways of Diogenes. It is part of his professional equipment that he can state a case on either side. He will argue with considerable skill for either the active or the contemplative life ;[1] he can demonstrate first that the soldier, and then that the tiller of the soil, makes the larger contribution to the well-being of the state.[2] Such dialectic exercises were much in vogue, but the sincerity and purpose of the philosopher shine clear through all the conventions of his rhetoric. He appeals in the main to the same class of people for whom Clement intended his lectures and his books. Had Clement never come over to Christianity, his general outlook might have closely resembled that of Maximus. Let us see, by one or two examples, what philosophy could do.

Like Plutarch, Maximus is much concerned to give a higher interpretation to popular theology and the myths. Serious people do not really suppose that Zeus rides in a chariot,[3] or that Athena is grey-eyed[4] and Hera white armed, as painters and sculptors have portrayed them. The fiery rivers of the lower world and the threads which the Fates spin off are not, of course, literal facts. But truths and principles and great ideas may be apprehended in this way by ordinary minds, and so symbolism and mythology are justified and even necessary, if man is to have any knowledge of higher truth at all. As for ultimate reality, it is inaccessible, beyond our mental grasp. Maximus takes us up into the "watch tower" of the soul and bids us rise above the delusions and uncertainties of sense.[5] We see that God is one, and that God is sovereign, and that nothing evil can proceed from Him, but for the most part

[1] *Or.* xv., xvi. [2] *Or.* xxiii., xxiv.
[3] *Or.* iv. 4. [4] *Or.* viii. 6.
[5] *Or.* xi. 6, on τίς ὁ θεὸς κατὰ Πλάτωνα.

we must be content to approach Him through our knowledge of His works, and through tales and images and material forms which, in a world that is full of hidden meanings — *πάντα μεστὰ αἰνιγμάτων*,[1] — are the readiest avenues for human frailty towards things divine.

Two of his discourses are of special interest in this connection. In the fourth[2] he argues that Poetry and Philosophy are fundamentally the same. Both teach us, but their methods change, just as methods of physicians also alter. Poetry belonged to the childhood of the world. It made palatable the medicine of truth and tended the early needs of humanity like a nurse. But in reality the poet is the philosopher, for both have one purpose and vocation, both teach us of the things of God. And in the second[3] discourse, perhaps the most interesting of the collection, he discusses the question of the statues and images of the gods. Should such things be? The gods have no need of them. But they are a help to human infirmity. Strong souls may dispense with their aid, but the strong are a rare people, and so the old customs are justified.[4] Whether, like the Greeks, we take as our symbol the human form; or worship fire like Persia; or adore the brutes like Egypt; or share the crude and barbarous symbols of the remote peoples of the earth, it is really one instinct which is everywhere at work. Through names and forms and creatures and precious things and holy streams man seeks the honour and the knowledge of One whose being he cannot comprehend. The wise man will not be too critical or take offence at the diversity of forms. Let the art of Phidias and the animal worship of Egypt fulfil their mission and

[1] *Or.* iv. 5.
[2] Its subject is *τίνες ἄμεινον περὶ θεῶν διέλαβον, ποιηταὶ ἢ φιλόσοφοι.*
[3] Its subject is *εἰ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα ἱδρυτέον.*
[4] *τὰ κείμενα ἐῶμεν*, *Or.* ii. 9.

help men towards the thought of God. "Let them only know Him; let them only love Him; let them only keep Him in their minds." The case for the old forms and myths could hardly have been better stated. Such teaching must have been of the greatest help to thoughtful men who never abandoned Paganism. Christianity itself can hardly find better justification for symbolism, or more tender consideration for the limitations of average humanity.

Very interesting, too, are the remarks of Maximus on the nature and office of the demons.[1] He conceives them as intermediate beings or "secondary immortals,"[2] bridging the gap between the divine and the human. Evil spirits do not come within his survey; all his demons are beneficent, friends of men, and ministers of the higher will.[3] In their middle position in nature's scale, they blend the immortality of the gods with man's liability to outward influences. Yet they are not corporeal. Indeed, he seems to think of them principally as disembodied souls, who exercise after death the same forms of service which they practised while on earth. Minos is still a judge, and Hector still strides as a shade across the plains of Troy. So men see them in visions. He himself had beheld Æsculapius, the healer, and Hercules, the servant of humanity, and the bright Dioscuri, who are the sailor's friends. Their ministries are ever beneficent. It is all very different from the Jewish idea of possession. By God's bidding they go about upon the earth and mingle with human life, helping the good, securing justice for the wronged, inflicting penalties on the sinner. Paganism has come very near to the Christian doctrine of mediation and the cult of saints and angels.

[1] *Or.* viii., ix. [2] ἀθάνατοι δεύτεροι, viii. 8.

[3] Contrast, of course, the pronounced hostility of Christian writers; *e.g.* Tatian, *Adv. Græcos*, xiv. *sqq.*, or Clement, *Protrepticus*, 35 *sqq.*

Hardly less attractive is his discourse upon Prayer.[1] Should men pray or not? Midas' prayer, though granted, brought him nothing but regrets, and the gods did not pay much regard to the entreaties of Crœsus and the sacrifices of King Priam. But, after all, can men persuade God? Can the Divinity change His will at our entreaty? The truth is, God will neither give to those who pray, beyond their deserts; nor will He fail to give exactly according to their merits, even to those who make no requests. Providence and Fate and Fortune and Skill seem to be the four powers which control the domain to which our prayers relate. Of these not one is influenced by our petitions. So he rules out all asking and entreaty. God is a severe judge. He gives ever what is right. And being reminded that Socrates, Pythagoras, and Plato all had prayed—Socrates' life, he says, was full of prayer,[2]—he beautifully replies that the prayer of the philosopher is not asking, but communion[3] and converse with the gods. They who thus make the highest use of prayer are not a large company, but they save the world: "In the great darkness we need a little light." So he criticises the crude requests of the superstitious, and raises prayer to levels too remote and too pure for average human nature to breathe their air.

Probably few writers better illustrate the saying that Homer was the Bible of the Greeks.[4] Maximus quotes Homer constantly, taking for granted that his readers know their Homer well and recognise his authority. He knows that Plato, his own principal master, had expelled Homer from his ideal city, so that the problem of a divided allegiance

[1] *Or.* v., εἰ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι.
[2] ἦν ὁ βίος Σωκράτει μεστὸς εὐχῆς, v. 8.
[3] ὁμιλία. The term is similarly used by Clement, 854.
[4] *Or.* xvii., xxvi.

confronts him, but he manages it with tact. Both have their mission and their office, but Homer after all is not for everyone. Elsewhere he regards Homer as the great teacher of Hellas: theology, the virtues, philosophy, the elements, and forms of government, are all discoverable in his lines. He is like an entire orchestra, not a strain lacking. For all the excellences his teaching avails, and not a part of him is uninspired.

There are many points of contact between Maximus and Clement. The love of Homer, the indebtedness to Plato, the elements derived from other, notably the Stoic, schools are common to both teachers. There is the same aloofness from the multitude,[1] the same suspicion of pleasure, the same belief that by mentally stripping off all qualities from His nature the mind can reach at last the pure idea of God.[2] Both set high value on the encyclic training of the schools.[3] Both had special regard for astronomy.[4] Both found a key to difficulties in symbolism and hidden meanings. Both speak of the soul's "watch-tower," and of the "fore-court" of the shrine.[5] To some extent these things were the common stock of all who had received training in philosophy, but the affinity in certain respects is marked and close.

For the rest, this Tyrian Platonist has various incidental points of interest. He speaks constantly of "God" instead of "the gods." He comes very near to our idea of Grace.[6] He says some noble things about Love and Friendship,[7] and regrets that Philosophy, which should unite, so frequently divides.[8] In all this we often feel how near he has come to Christianity. He gives us an account of a ship of

[1] *Or.* iv. 6. [2] *Or.* xi. 11.
[3] *Or.* xxxvii. [4] *Or.* xxxix. 4.
[5] *περιωπή, πρόθυρα*—Clement's terms—*Or.* xi. 6, 12.
[6] *Or.* xxxviii. 6. [7] *Or.* xix., xx., xxxv. [8] *Or.* xxix. 7.

pleasure,[1] which strangely anticipates the luxury of a modern liner. He writes with enthusiasm of the voyage of the soul through the realms of thought ;[2] "Oh blessed journey ! Oh noble vision ! Oh dreams that are dreams of truth !" We leave his pages with the reflection that, if the new religion had much to give, it had also much that it could appropriate. In the highest sense, Maximus was a fellow-worker with Clement rather than a rival. Their meeting, had they ever met, would have been interesting.

V. Galen.

Were it in our power to bring back to life any one of Clement's contemporaries and to hear his views on the world in which he had lived, we should run little risk of disappointment if we selected Galen, the famous doctor of Pergamum, for such an interview. Older than Clement by some twenty years, a man of varied gifts, wide travel, and many-sided education, splendidly successful in his calling, intimate with more than one Emperor, with a warmer heart than Lucian and a truer understanding of human nature than the typical philosopher, combining something of the flexibility which characterised the Asiatic Greek with the seriousness which springs from devotion to a great profession, at heart genuinely religious, delighting in controversy, not devoid of humour, knowing the world's ways, yet not despising it, this clever and versatile physician is quite one of the most interesting personalities of his age. As he wrote voluminously and was little given to reserve, our acquaintance with him is fairly intimate.

Pergamum, with its great hill rising to a thousand feet

[1] *Or.* xxx. The beds, the promenades, the plants, the bath, the gymnasium, the cooking, the resemblance to a luxurious city, are all in striking similarity with the accounts, *e.g.*, of the ill-fated *Titanic*.

[2] *Or.* xvi. 6.

from the broad plain of the Caïcus, was Galen's early home.[1] Whatever the writer of the Book of Revelation meant by "Satan's seat,"[2] it must have been familiar to Galen, and was indeed possibly the great temple of the very Æsculapius, whose lifelong servant he was to be. His father, Nicon, to whose teaching he never forgot his debt, was a man of culture, versed in astrology, and proficient in his calling as an architect. Of his mother he can only tell us that she was more nagging than Xanthippe. Owing to a dream of his father, Galen was sent at the age of seventeen to study medicine, but the attention he had previously paid to philosophy left its lasting influence on his development. When he had learned what he could of medicine in Pergamum, he moved on to find further medical training in other centres, notably in Alexandria, where there were special opportunities for the study of anatomy. After some years in this most famous of the schools of medicine, he returned to Pergamum, and obtained an appointment as physician to the local establishment of gladiators. It can hardly have been congenial work, for it left him with a wholesome dislike of mere muscular development and a contemptuous pity for this most desperate vocation.[3] So he soon relinquished the position and went to try his fortunes in Rome.

In the capital Galen rapidly made his way, curing an elderly man with whom other practitioners had failed, and winning the goodwill of at least one great lady. He left the city, to return later for a three years' stay, but professional zeal did not induce him to remain in Rome

[1] The evidence for Galen's life is collected in vol. i., pp. xxi *sqq.* of Kühn's edition. See, too, Finlayson, *Galen: Two Bibliographical Demonstrations*, pp. 19–20, and article in *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*.

[2] Rev. ii. 13. See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, ch. xxi.

[3] οὐδὲν ἄλλο γένος ἀθλιώτερόν ἐστι τῶν ἀθλητῶν—with an intentional play upon the words, *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*, ii. (Kühn, i. 31).

through the terrible outbreak of pestilence which occurred in A.D. 167. He went back for a time to Pergamum and perhaps had honour in his own country, though his stay there on this occasion lasted for little more than a year. Marcus Aurelius summoned him from Aquileia to Rome in A.D. 169, when L. Verus, his colleague in the Imperium, died. When Marcus left the capital for the tedious campaign on the Danube, he would have gladly taken Galen with him, but the physician had not served Æsculapius for naught, and the deity sent his servant a timely dream of warning, which enabled him to make decent excuses to the Emperor.[1] No doubt Galen preferred Rome to the remoteness of a camp among the Quadi, and he was altogether too successful an optimist to have understood the Emperor's temperament. Yet it would have added to the lustre of Galen's memory had he ministered, in those last dreary years of the campaign, to the failing health of this burdened master of the world. Instead, he stayed in Rome, to watch over the physique of the growing Commodus and write books, specially the *De usu partium*, his greatest work.

Galen may have been in Rome on the solemn and memorable day of the Emperor's funeral, and it is probable that he remained in the capital for the greater part of the reign of Commodus, though he can have had little liking for the new Imperator's vagaries in the arena. We must picture him as busy with his professional practice, lecturing on the errors of his medical brethren of the Erasistratean school, meeting with other literary men in their favourite haunt of the Temple of Peace, occasionally receiving four hundred "aurei" as an exceptional fee,[2] and experiencing, possibly, a sly satisfaction when rival doctors, who had refused to adopt the treatment he suggested, lost their

[1] *De libris propriis*, 2 (Kühn, xix. 18, 19).
[2] *De prænotione, ad Posthumum*, 8 (Kühn, xiv. 647).

patient after all.[1] Towards the end of the reign of Commodus the Temple of Peace was burned,[2] and Galen lost a large number of his writings, which were, it seems, left there for custody. He sometimes had the future Emperor, Severus, among his hearers, and we find him still lecturing in the brief reign of the unhappy Pertinax. He is said to have closed his full, active, and prosperous life at the age of seventy, in the last year of his century. He had remarked quite frankly in earlier days that he had never experienced great calamity,[3] and by the canons of Greek wisdom he died the death of the truly happy, for till the end this notable exemption was sustained.

It does not fall within our province to give any detailed estimate of this great doctor's position and importance in the history of Medicine. But there are certain more general features in his achievement and in his mental character which may be noted without any invasion of the specialist's domain. In some respects he has affinities with his younger contemporary, Clement.

Specially significant from the modern standpoint is Galen's purely scientific interest. He has a genuine respect for fact and observation. The dissection and even vivisection of animals[4] was a frequent practice with him, and if he disclaimed any desire to cut up his patients while they were alive, this quaint expression of forbearance is still indicative of a mental attitude. Whatever might be true in philosophy, in matters physical truth could be tested : an apple *was* an

[1] *De venæ sectione*, 1 (Kühn, xi. 187 *sqq.*).

[2] Herodian, i. 14 ; Galen, *De libris propriis*, 2 (Kühn, xix. 19) ; *Rhenisches Museum*, 1889, p. 211.

[3] *De cognoscendis curandisque animi morbis*, 8 (Kühn, v. 44).

[4] To this there are constant references, *e.g.*, *De libris propriis*, 3 (Kühn, xix. 23) ; *De naturalibus facultatibus*, i. 13 (Kühn, ii. 36) ; *De anatomicis administrationibus* (Kühn, ii. 215 *sqq.*).

apple ;[1] snow *was* white ;[2] the facts spoke ; or, if not, the absolute scepticism of the Pyrrhoneans alone remained. Hence come his reiterated protests against loose definition ; against rash and ungrounded acceptance of principles ; above all, against faulty methods of inquiry. Evidence, he says, is better than theory and authority ; we must trust to our eyes in preference to books.[3] We must be ever on the watch for superficial resemblances,[4] which so frequently mislead. When he wished to understand a certain process he adopted a threefold method, experimenting on animals, interrogating his patients, studying the written works of his profession.[5] He would employ strictly scientific means to discover whether a lady's malady was not really that of being in love ;[6] and sometimes a very slight hint would suggest to his keen observation the true diagnosis of a patient's case. It is matter alike for regret and for reflection, that this purely scientific quality in Galen's mind was so rarely reproduced in the centuries that followed. When a later estimate declares that he was in fact "a modern experimental physiologist," and speaks of the "essentially scientific basis of his mind," such expressions are not more than true.[7]

Side by side with this characteristic, a coexistent and perhaps not entirely harmonised tendency, is Galen's avowed religion and convinced teleology. Purpose and aim pervade the world. Nature does nothing without intention or in vain. Merely mechanical explanations do not suffice to account for the facts. Nature takes thought for the

[1] *De optima doctrina*, 4 (Kühn, i. 49).
[2] *De temperamentis*, ii. 2 (Kühn, i. 589).
[3] *De usu partium*, xvi. 3 (Kühn, iv. 273).
[4] *De animi peccatis*, 2 (Kühn, v. 62–3).
[5] *De semine*, i. 2 (Kühn, iv. 513).
[6] *De prænotione*, 6 (Kühn, xiv. 630 *sqq.*).
[7] See J. F. Payne, *Harveian Oration*, 1896, pp. 38, 47.

future,[1] is rigidly exact, does all things well. She made the body for the use of the soul ; its different parts are fashioned in accordance with man's moral capacities,[2] and those who understand it best will believe, like Aristotle, in "a more divine principle." So everywhere there is Design and Purpose and the skill of the Creator. Did Chance make the teeth ? he asks.[3] Or take the hand of man. Nowhere does his convinced belief in Nature's artistic and creative intention more strongly express itself, than in his account of this distinctively human organ, essential for all the arts, for the aims of peace as much as for those of war, "an instrument of grasp, perfected by Nature to be the possession of the wisest of living beings."[4] No doubt, at times, his teleology is too detailed and minute. It may "sweep his observations into the current of his dogmatic exposition."[5] We must not expect to find him wholly free from the prepossessions of his age and craft. Yet in his professional views he was comprehensive, eclectic, many-sided. Belonging neither wholly to the experimental nor wholly to the dogmatic school, he can plead that these rival theories of medicine have much in common and need not always be at strife.[6] Though he did not always live up to this principle, for he was the most vigorous of controversialists, it is not the less true that he united, in an exceptional measure, the tendencies of the purely scientific spirit with the most sincere teleology.

Few men have had higher ideals for their profession than this versatile doctor. In the best sense he magnified

[1] *De usu partium*, v. 9 (Kühn, iii. 379).

[2] *De temperamentis*, ii. 6 (Kühn, i. 622 *sqq.*).

[3] *De usu partium*, xi. 7–8 (Kühn, iii. 864–76).

[4] *De usu partium*, i. 2 (Kühn, iii. 3) ; *De temperamentis*, i. 9 (Kühn, i. 563–4).

[5] See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Medicine." Galen's teleology is said to have been so minute and overstrained as to defeat its own end.

[6] *De sectis*, iv. (Kühn, i. 74).

his office. For the true physician was at once, he held, a minister of Nature, Truth's comrade and the real philosopher.[1] He must travel widely, so as to understand climate and the effects of locality : he must be "laborious to the last degree," the friend of temperance, a lover of humanity, a master of method. Before all things he must be superior to avarice ; a man, too, of infinite patience in bringing theories to the test of fact.[2] Even in youth, as a student, a certain passionate enthusiasm for knowledge must impel him on his path. It is well, he says, that a young man, whose soul is above the level of the brutes, should have a profession, the more so if he choose the best of all professions, "and this, as we say, is medicine."[3] The nobility of a great vocation has been rarely more worthily extolled.

But it was a sore contrast to descend from this ideal to the realities. The actual medical world as he knew it, more especially in Rome, seemed vitiated by its ignorance, mediocrity, and obstinate assertion.[4] Its jealousies and rivalries, its sectarian temper, its love of money, its indifference to scientific progress, the efforts of its members to secure success by display or self-advertisement or obsequious courting of the wealthy, only too often made the living doctors whom Galen knew unworthy of their splendid calling. He thought them very far removed from the high tradition of Hippocrates. Indeed, his opinion of the actual medical world of his day bears a marked resemblance to the views Lucian was so frankly expressing about contemporary philosophers.

[1] *Utrum medicinæ an gymnastices hygieine*, 26 (Kühn, v. 853); *In Hippocratis librum de alimento*, iii. 14 (Kühn, xv. 309); *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus* (Kühn, i. 58).

[2] *De naturalibus facultatibus*, iii. 10 (Kühn, ii. 179–80 : *cp.* i. 58, *ut supra*).

[3] *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*, xiv. (Kühn, i. 39).

[4] *De prænotione*, iv. (Kühn, xiv. 619 *sqq.*) ; *De naturalibus facultatibus*, i. 14 (Kühn, ii. 52–3); *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*, passim (Kühn, i. 53 *sqq.*).

No doubt Galen's many controversies coloured, to some extent, his estimate. He had not a little contempt and bitterness for his opponents, and was too convinced and too successful a man to see the best in a rival's case. He was as impatient of the Erasistrateans as he was unstinted and uncritical in his admiration of Hippocrates. Nor, when he tells us of two opponents that "one has nothing to say and the other is a shameless liar,"[1] must we forget that there is such a quality as "Odium Medicum." It is a pleasanter side of his work which meets us in his readiness to attend slaves,[2] in his ungrudging devotion to his pupils,[3] in his personal simplicity (for this well-to-do physician seems to have had but a single pair of boots),[4] in his desire to make needful drugs accessible to poor people in the country,[5] or in his delightful advocacy of "the game with the little ball," which was so cheap, and so available for poor or busy folk, so good for army officers or elderly people, so serviceable alike to mind and body, so singular among the several forms of exercise as involving no victims. Thus did he commend the golf of his day. In such ways we see the lighter and charming aspects of a man of real genius, whose pupils held he had never made a mistake, and whose influence in his profession reigned, in spite of the challenge of Paracelsus,[7] until Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood.

Between Galen and Clement there are certain points of similarity and contact. They can hardly have met in Alexandria, for Galen's student days in that city were over

[1] *De naturalibus facultatibus*, i. 16 (Kühn, ii. 67).

[2] See, *e.g.*, *De locis affectis*, v. 8; *De curandi ratione per venæ sectionem*, 17 (Kühn, viii. 355; xi. 299).

[3] *De libris propriis*, Procem: (Kühn, xix. 10). Many of his works were written τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις.

[4] *De cognoscendis curandisque animi morbis*, 9 (Kühn, v. 47).

[5] *De remediis parabilibus*, Procem: (Kühn, xiv. 311 *sqq.*).

[6] *De parvæ pilæ exercitio* (Kühn, v. 899).

[7] See J. F. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

before Clement's arrival ; but the Christian Father certainly assimilated a good deal of medical knowledge and terminology from his surroundings. Galen has been called a "medical humanist." So Clement was a Christian humanist. Galen achieved a great synthesis of all the current medical science of his time.[1] It was such an intellectual fabric, on the wider plane of theology, which Clement imagined but did not achieve. Both were eclectics. Both were optimists. Both found the world intensely interesting. Both, following the current moral teaching of the schools, speak in praise of the simple life,[2] recommend an habitual spiritual adviser,[3] think it well to spare time for meditation from the hours of sleep,[4] and point to ivory fittings on a bedstead as evidence of degenerate luxury.[5] Many other topics common to these two doctors of different but allied sciences might be named, but it is time to take leave of this interesting character. Through an Arabic translator[6] comes down to us a tradition that Galen thought highly of the Christians. They seemed to him to live lives worthy of true philosophers. Their superiority to the fear of death, their chastity, their self-control, their forgiveness of injuries, their earnest zeal for "whatsoever things were honest,"[7] had impressed his observant eye. Nor did the Christians wholly fail in like appreciation. On the fringe of the Church in later years were some who regarded Galen as a saint.[8] To this extent is it possible to connect this great physician's name with the rising enterprise of Christianity. The centuries have brought closer and more conscious

[1] "Un ensemble magnifique," R. Maillard, *Aperçu historique sur Galien et ses ouvrages*, p. 15.

[2] *De cognoscendis curandisque animi morbis*, 9 (Kühn, v. 51–2).

[3] *Ib.*, 10 (Kühn, v. 55). [4] *Ib.*, 5 (Kühn, v. 24).

[5] *Utrum medicinæ an gymnastices hygieine*, 18 (Kuhn, v. 837–8).

[6] *Historia ante-islamica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 109.

[7] "Acerrimo honestatis studio" is the Latin version. [8] H.E., v. 28.

co-operation between Medicine and Religion. Least of all can our own age forget how closely interwoven are these twin ministries to body and to soul. Thus did an unsuspected fellowship unite the Alexandrine teacher with this doctor of the "peaceful" name.[1]

VI. Bardaisan.

Clement belonged to the East rather than to the West, but the "East" is a wide term, and then as now covered much variety. Bardaisan, the last of Clement's contemporaries whom we shall consider in any detail, belonged to a world far more completely Oriental than Alexandria. Edessa, where he lived, was an eastern city. He wrote his books in Syriac, an Oriental language. The astrology, which was so large an element in his thought, was a recognised eastern science. The Greek and Latin fathers refer to him as to a great but remote personality, and, though he was one of the most important and interesting men of his time, it is possible to make few detailed statements about him with entire certainty. Some unmistakable elements of greatness, however, clearly belong to him, and Bardaisan's life repays study, albeit such study still leaves him at a distance.

As to the sources of our information, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and some of the other fathers, afford us short and often contradictory references. There is an important Syriac Dialogue, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, in which he is the principal speaker. Ephrem Syrus, who was born three-quarters of a century after Bardaisan's death and wrote hymns and sermons in Edessa to counteract his unorthodox teaching, is, as the Germans say, "die Hauptquelle" of our knowledge. Then there is the beautiful

[1] On the general aspects of the subject see Harnack, *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, Texte und Untersuchungen, VIII. (iv.).

Hymn of the Soul, which may have been Bardaisan's work. The reliability of these and other authorities, as also the interpretation of their statements, has been much discussed by various critics, from Hahn (1819) to Haase (1910). Here we can only put together the more probable results, in the hope that the salient features of his life and character may emerge more or less in their true proportions.

Bardaisan, whose parents seem to have been of Persian or "Parthian" origin, was born in A.D. 154, probably a few years later than Clement, at Edessa. This city lay some 150 miles north-east of Antioch, on the Daisan, a tributary of the Euphrates. From the river Bardaisan took his name: its occasionally violent and disastrous floods—there was one in A.D. 201[1]—made it a considerable factor in the life of Edessa. His parents were people of good position, for their son grew up in close intimacy with the young prince of the reigning house, who was afterwards to come to power as Abgar IX. His education was varied and liberal, for he knew both Greek and Syriac, was deeply versed in astronomical lore, and was famous for his skill with the bow. There is late authority[2] for believing that about ten years of his early manhood were spent at Hierapolis, a neighbouring city, and here, on his parents' death, he was adopted by the "Pontiff," and still further instructed in the science of the stars. But he returned at about the age of thirty to Edessa, where Abgar, the comrade of his earlier years, was now on the throne. Here he remained for the rest of his days. His learning and his many intellectual interests soon made him a famous teacher, and the young men of Edessa sat in their numbers at his feet. Thus, like

[1] See L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik*, p. 84 (in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix.).

[2] *L'histoire de Michel le Grand* (A.D. 1126–1199), who was patriarch of Antioch. See F. Nau, *Une biographie inédite de Bardesane l'astrologue.*

Clement, he had his "school." His patience and his dignified manners gave added charm to his other gifts, while he seems to have been as fearless as he was generous in his opinions.

It was probably in the early part of middle life that he became a Christian, and we have no evidence that Bardaisan ever desired to sever his connection with the Church. He seems to have been much attracted by the theories of the Eastern Valentinians, and to the end of his life he set great value on certain aspects of their teaching. Partly from this special tendency, but still more because of his considerable originality and independence, the official Syrian Church came to suspect him, and this attitude of distrust was more marked under the "catholicising" *régime* of Bishop Palût.[1] Thus Bardaisan and his followers became a separate school, side by side with the Marcionites, and the school retained its distinct character for more than a century. Bardaisan had considerable skill in expressing his teaching through the medium of verse, and his hundred and fifty hymns caused much dismay and scandal to the orthodox.

The Syriac *Book of the Laws* has preserved a very pleasing picture of the master's relations with his pupils. Sometimes, too, strangers would visit him. He had met Abercius, the Bishop of Hieropolis: he had conversed with an Indian embassy on its way to meet the Emperor. Bardaisan had no ascetic views; he called marriage "purity" and was himself married,[2] leaving three sons behind him, of whom Harmonius, the eldest, had been educated in Athens and carried on in some measure his father's work. Once he was bidden by a Roman official to renounce his faith, and seems to have been saved by the sheer courage with which he

[1] Early in the third century, but the dates cannot be fixed with certainty. See Burkitt, *Early Eastern Chrisianity*, pp. 32 *sqq*.

[2] In this point at least he was a true Valentinian. See *Strom.*, iii. 508.

received the threat of death. And once, as an old man, he undertook a missionary expedition into Armenia, but here his teaching was not welcome, so that the enterprise had to be abandoned. It seems that the main result of this journey was the discovery in an ancient fortress of some interesting archives, which Bardaisan incorporated in a historical work, which was subsequently current in a Greek translation. It is worthy of note that when he faced martyrdom and made his one missionary effort, he was already a heretic in the eyes of the Syrian Church. His death must have occurred about A.D. 222. We hear of no well-known man of the period whose life was more closely contemporaneous with Clement's, so far as the dates can be fixed.

What manner of man, then, was he of whose history this is but the probable outline? A man "in all ways greatly gifted";[1] one "who reached the summit of Chaldean learning";[2] such were the verdicts of the ancients. "One of the most important men, not in Syrian Christendom alone, but even in the universal history of the Church";[3] "the only original thinker which the Syriac Church helped to mould";[4] so say the moderns. More particularly, Bardaisan was a poet, a man of culture, an astrologer; perhaps "the last of the Gnostics," yet withal a Christian. A word may be said on each of these aspects of his character.

A clearly poetic strain ran through all the Valentinian theology, and this is one marked point of contact between Bardaisan and this school. Later writers often did him injustice by taking literally the imaginative forms in which he sometimes clothed his thought. The truth is, as most recent critics of his work have understood, that such scanty relics of his teaching as we possess are not to be

[1] Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.*, lvi. 1.
[2] Euseb., *Præpar. Evang.*, vi. 9.
[3] Haase, *Zur Bardesanischen Gnosis*, 96.
[4] Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 157.

forced into any system. Certainly the restricted soul of Ephrem Syrus only imperfectly understood him. His hundred and fifty hymns caused him to be compared to David, and like David he "set singers before the altar," creating Syrian Church music and giving a singular attraction to his tenets through the use of melody and poetic form. "The evil one hath plaited vociferous thorns and concealed spikes among melodies," complained his detractors.[1] Though there is no sort of certainty that Bardaisan composed *The Hymn of the Soul*, at least there is no other name with which it can be associated with greater probability. The difficult questions which arise as to its exact interpretation leave quite unimpaired the beauty of symbolism and the elevation of feeling which characterise this interesting relic. We should like to know that Bardaisan was its author, though the poetic element in his nature is amply proved by other evidence.

But there was something of the *savant*, as well as of the poet, in Bardaisan's nature. He lived before the age of the specialist, and our fragmentary information is sufficient to make clear an extraordinary range and variety in his interests. "Litterarum gnarus," as Moses of Chorene describes him, he doubtless deserved all the superlative epithets which Eusebius in one short chapter bestows on his writings.[2] Early in life he wrote on astrological subjects. After coming over to Christianity he seriously attacked the heresies, notably Marcion's, and apparently that of his former master Valentinus too.[3] As an old man he composed a history of Armenia. Porphyry was acquainted with his work on Indian subjects. *The Book of the Laws of the*

[1] Ephrem Syrus, p. 104 in Pusey, *Library of the Fathers*.

[2] H.E., iv. 30. ἱκανώτατος ἀνήρ—ἱκανώτατος διαλόγος—διαλεκτικώτατος ἀνήρ—πλεῖστα συγγράμματα.

[3] Jerome, *De viris illust.*, xxxiii., "primum Valentini sectator deinde confutator."

Countries deals with a variety of local customs anywhere between China and the Atlantic. His "Kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung"[1] is thus undoubtedly considerable, though the abstract and ultimate problems of "Light and Darkness," "Fixity and Motion," seem to have frequently drawn him in an opposite or metaphysical direction. Moreover, man of the East fundamentally as he was, there are frequent traces of Hellenic influence in his thought. Nor would it be in any sense out of keeping with his character, should the suggestion[2] that he was the earliest link between Buddhism and Christianity be developed and made good. Here, indeed, as Jerome said, was an intelligence for even philosophers to admire. Dim, shadowy, obscure even, as in some respects his figure must remain, the proportions still emerge from the eastern mists with sufficient distinctness of outline for us to recognise the keenness of his intellectual interests and the diversity of the many inquiries which engaged his mind. The impulse to explore and learn, which men noted in the Emperor Severus,[3] had its equivalent in the otherwise dissimilar life of Bardaisan. So his pupils had good reason for their veneration, and Edessa gave shelter to at least one original intelligence.

The most prominent and the most permanent among these many interests of Bardaisan was, no doubt, Astrology. He lived, be it remembered, many centuries before the days when the belief in horoscopes and planetary influences were held a discredit to a man's good sense. The science was indeed one of the serious preoccupations of the period, and Bardaisan, born, probably, of Persian parents, and educated in a city which worshipped the heavenly bodies,[4] seems to have attained early eminence in the knowledge of the stars. He wrote, before he was twenty-five, a dialogue

[1] Haase, p. 95.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] Dion Cassius, lxxv. 13.
[4] Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 16.

About Destiny as, later, he was the main character in the *Book of the Laws*, which is a dialogue *against* Destiny in its more fatalistic sense.[1] Ephrem complained, with some truth, that Bardaisan had studied the signs of the Zodiac instead of reading the prophets;[2] while the statement that he attained "the summit of Chaldean science" bears a similar significance. The interesting fact is not that Bardaisan was an astrologer, but that he retained his astrology in a modified form after he became a Christian.[3] Some value, he still believed, lay in the wisdom of the Chaldeans. Without surrendering the very real domain of freedom in which man could exercise his choice, and without imperilling the ultimate sovereignty of God, Bardaisan found an intermediate sphere where, by divine ordinance, stars and planetary activities exerted their influence upon the life of man. These subordinate powers, "dominators," "conductors," "right" and "beneficent," or "left" and "adverse," these "seven" planets, as he variously calls them, exerted their action more especially upon man's external circumstances and upon his physical nature. Their operation, however, for better or worse, was a real factor in his life. Thus even the Lord Himself was crucified under the influence of Mars and raised under that of Jupiter. To similar causes sickness or health, wealth or poverty, are also due. This could, as Bardaisan thought, without inconsistency be asserted side by side with the Divine Sovereignty and the freedom of

[1] διάλογος περὶ Εἱμαρμένης, H.E., iv. 30: κατὰ Εἱμαρμένης, Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.*, lvi. 1; and Theodoret, *Hæret. fabul. compendium*, i. 22. Haase, pp. 10 *sqq.*, lays much stress on this distinction in the prepositions.

[2] Ephrem Syrus, 439 E.; see Nau, *Une biographie*, p. 13.

[3] T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, 329, refers to Tertullian, *De idol.*, 9. Evidently the claim to unite Astrology with Christianity was not uncommon. Tertullian says, "De astrologis ne quidem loquendum est," but the wise men and their star were a difficult point. Tatian, though an Eastern, is with Tertullian rather than with Bardaisan, *Adv. Græcos*, 10, etc.

human wills. As in the main he is an optimist, little vexed by the problem of evil, he tends to regard the stars as friendly powers ; and their intimate concern with the life of man proved, perhaps, a happier interpretation of their mystery than any which is possible to the modern spirit, as it contemplates the crushing immensities and bewildering vastness of the cold, indifferent heavens of science.

Bardaisan's marked interest in astrology has led an eminent modern critic to question his title to a place among the Gnostics.[1] The appropriateness of such designations as *Bardesanes Gnosticus*[2] or *Bardesanes der letzte Gnostiker*[3] has been denied : instead we should speak of *Bardesane l'Astrologue*. But "Astrologer *or* Gnostic" is no true alternative. The *Excerpta ex Theodoto* and the *Eclogæ Propheticæ* make it clear that astrology played an important part in just that very Eastern Valentinian School with which Bardaisan's name has traditionally been associated. Thus his astrology may well have been inseparable from his Gnosticism. It is only by giving an unjustly restricted significance to the latter term, that we can locate him outside its range. He taught a docetic Christology, that the Lord was born *through*, not from, the Virgin ; and he denied the resurrection of the body. Moreover, he seems to have avoided the historical aspects of Christianity. And there is similarity, though perhaps not identity, between elements in his teaching and the "Æons" and "Syzygies" of the Gnostic systems. These things he did not derive from astrological sources : rather they associate him with Valentinian tendencies ; so that the statements of Eusebius and Epiphanius as to the character of his heresy, even if one-sided, may not have been untrue. He must be

[1] F. Nau, *Une biographie inédite de Bardesane l'astrologue*, 1897 ; *Bardesane l'astrologue ; Le livre des lois des pays*, 1899.

[2] A. Hahn, 1819.

[3] A. Hilgenfeld, 1864.

numbered, then, formally, as among the heretics: if we were to speak of him as a "Gnostic Astrologer" we should come near the truth.

Many years after Bardaisan's date, Saint Ephrem wrote in one of his hymns:

> "I have chanced upon tares, my brethren, . . .
> I have chanced upon a book of Bardaisan,
> And I was troubled for an hour's space;
> It tainted my pure ears,
> And made them a passage
> For words filled with blasphemy.
> I hastened to purge them
> With the goodly and pure reading
> Of the Scriptures of truth."[1]

Such was the later verdict of Christians, in his own city, on this remarkable man. Probably, in his lifetime, there was less complete estrangement, but, even so, there was no place found for him within the Church. Professor Burkitt has good ground for his regret that this was so.[2] For the Bardaisan of the *Book of the Laws* was a sincere and convinced Christian, and his many works against heresies point to a considerable measure of agreement with orthodoxy. Against all the Dualists he held the doctrine of the one true God. Of the name of Christ he speaks with marked reverence. Even those who thought he made shipwreck of the faith, described it as the shipwreck of a noble vessel. Was it indeed inevitable that so great a spirit should be lost to the Christian Society? We can only accept and deplore the fact. Others have pointed out that there were certain general affinities between Bardaisan and Clement. We shall see that in Alexandria, too, there were sincere people who suspected any attempt to combine Christianity with the

[1] *Ephrem Syrus*, in Wace and Schaff's translation, p. 129.
[2] *Early Eastern Christianity*, 187 *sqq.*

wisdom of the world. That was the problem raised by the career of this independent and powerful teacher of the school in Edessa. Bardaisan and Clement stood theologically near to one another, yet on the opposite sides of that uncertain line which divided the heretics from the Church.

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Such were some among the limited number of Clement's contemporaries whose writings, careers, or personalities the after ages have deemed it worth while in any measure to conserve. To review these men and women one by one, even within such limits as the nature of the present work imposes, is to be conscious that the world they lived in was very varied and very busy ; and also, more especially, that in an era generally deficient in great enthusiasms, and generally devoid of great creative power, there were not wanting the individuals who could confront, with courage and conviction and high purpose, the complex problems and responsibilities of their time.

CHAPTER V

IN CLEMENT'S LIBRARY

No Christian of his period was more truly a man of books than Clement of Alexandria. In the later years of his life he was to experience the delights and hesitations of authorship, but long before he became a writer he must have read diligently and eagerly, finding the atmosphere of a library ever more and more congenial, and allowing his studies to lead him in very various directions. He learned much from the oral instruction of the venerated teachers, to whose unwritten wisdom he so frankly allowed his debts, yet he was in truth a man of many masters, and it may be that those who spoke to him only through their written works had in reality the greater influence. It would be hard to say whether his books or his pupils had the larger share in his interest, while, like many other men of wide reading, he seems to have felt that any truth gained greatly in value and authority, if it could be quoted from the written page.

His opportunities of study would vary with the different stages in his life. At Athens, if his earlier years were spent there, they must have been plentiful indeed, for Hadrian had included a library among his recent benefactions to the city, and the students' fees alone must have rendered many hundreds of fresh volumes available every year.[1] The Athenians of the time were proud to remember that they

[1] Capes, *University Life in Ancient Athens*, p. 14.

had a great tradition to maintain in the matter of free libraries.[1] Thus Clement probably acquired his love of Plato in Plato's own city, and read the plays of Euripides at no great distance from the vast theatre in which they were first performed. The booksellers in Athens did a large business,[2] and they must have seen him frequently among their customers. When he left the city his opportunities of reading would to some extent be interrupted, and it is evident that in the main his years of voyages and travel took him to the feet of living teachers rather than into libraries. It is his personal contact with the great Elders that he recalls from this middle period.[3] And possibly, for a time, after his conversion, he put aside the poets and philosophers and gave undivided attention to the new teaching, oral or written, of the "Word."

But when these days of travel were over and he had found rest in Alexandria under the guidance of Pantænus, the conditions were altered. He had leisure and adequate means and a genuine interest in learning, and he must have been in frequent contact with men of literary bent. Books were almost as large a factor in the life of his adopted home as merchandise; and if ever, in the new delight of Christianity, his love of the great pagan authors had sunk into abeyance, this love was now revived in all its old compulsion. Pantænus had taught him that the Gospel and Philosophy were not necessarily antagonistic, and Clement probably learned no more welcome lesson from his latest master. So we must picture him, as a student in middle life, frequenting the public libraries of the city and sometimes sitting late among his own store of books. The hours he spent among these papyri must have been so numerous

[1] Aulus Gellius, vii. 17.

[2] Lucian's *Adversus indoctum* is suggestive on this point.

[3] 322–3.

that it is worth while to attempt to reconstruct, in some measure, these congenial surroundings.

The library of the Serapeum is known to have contained the two hundred thousand volumes which had been brought from Pergamum, and presented at a later date by Mark Anthony to Cleopatra.[1] To this number there must have been constant additions made. Greek and Hebrew copies of the Old Testament are, for example, known to have been available there,[2] and the ambitious spirit of Ptolemy Soter, who had desired to collect for his library copies of all extant books which had any serious interest,[3] can hardly have wholly died away when the Empire came in. The Cæsars seem themselves to have appointed the librarians. The libraries attached to great temples are well known to have been the frequent meeting place of literary men, and that of the Serapeum may well have given such opportunity even to a Christian philosopher.[4] Sometimes the mere magnitude of these collections became oppressive. Clement names the crowded shelves of a library, with all the countless diversities of convinced opinion they contain, as one of the constant causes of doubt and indecision.[5] "Of making many books there is no end," it had been wearily said in earlier days by another teacher, who was possibly himself an Alexandrine. Other temples in Egypt, besides that of Serapis, had their collections of sacred books, and Clement had some acquaintance with the use and contents of a number of these. He quotes, apparently from some temple catalogue, a list of forty-two volumes which had their place in the ritual and apparatus of the religion of the country.[6] The substantial

[1] Plutarch, *Antoninus*, 58, [2] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 18.

[3] Irenæus, iii. 21, 2.

[4] See, *e.g.*, the references in Aulus Gellius to Trajan's Temple and to the Temple of Peace. [5] 927.

[6] 756 *sqq.* See A. Deiber, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Égypte*, chap. iv.

accuracy of his information is supported by other evidence. These, of course, were the sacred books of ancient Egypt, but there may well have been more than one library in Alexandria containing the works of Greek authors, and it is conceivable that some sincere Churchfolk were much troubled, when they saw the head of the Catechetical School make his way to one of these ἰατρεῖα ψυχῆς.

Apart from such public libraries Clement must also have gathered books of his own. Private libraries were quite usual. Origen possessed one, and many men who desired a repute for culture made large collections and paid high prices, without ever acquainting themselves with the contents of their possessions. Seneca and Lucian pour abundant ridicule upon these insincere votaries of learning: "You cannot even distinguish old and valuable books from the worthless and rotten," said Lucian to one of them,[1] but the interest in acquiring books was clearly widespread and must often have been genuine. Sometimes a library was specially built, sometimes it was a room in the house, set apart for the purpose. Clement's study may have resembled one which has been excavated in Herculaneum, with shelves all round the walls, containing some seventeen hundred rolls, and also a cabinet in the middle. But this was only a small collection, for sometimes more than sixty thousand papyri would belong to a private owner.[2]

A single roll was usually something less than thirty feet in length ; it was read in a horizontal position and the columns varied from five to ten inches in height, according to the width of the roll. Such a roll would usually contain as much as one book of the *Iliad* or the *Stromateis*. Prices were not high ; a single roll cost two to five denarii, or from four to ten shillings of English money, though far

[1] *Adversus indoctum*, 1. ; see Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi*, 9.
[2] *Historia Augusta*, Gordianus junior, 18.

larger sums might be paid for old and valuable books. Round Clement's room would be the θῆκαι, "nidi," or shelves, in which these volumes were stored, each length of papyrus wrapped round its roller and all placed one upon the other, much as rolls of wallpaper may be seen stored in a modern showroom. Careful people, who took a pride in such things, had the edges of each roll carefully smoothed and the end of the roller ornamented with ivory or metal; sometimes even for each volume its special leather case. A small ticket or label, often brightly coloured (the "splendidus index" of Martial), hung from the end of the roller, and by this the owner could recognise his volumes.[1] How much attention, we wonder, did Clement pay to these niceties of taste and detail? Probably he had as little concern for them as he had for literary style. But he may have followed a common custom by placing a bust of Plato in his library. Figures and paintings, reputed to be likenesses of the Apostles and of the Lord Himself, might also have been obtained, had he ever desired to add such memorials to his room.[2]

If the modern reader imagines himself for the moment in such surroundings, and proceeds to examine roll after roll from Clement's shelves, his attention will probably be arrested by two features which are characteristic of the collection as a whole. Each of them is to some extent significant.

In the first place, it is evident from the contents of his library that Clement had retained or recovered his affection for all the old treasures of the literature of Greece. Homer, Plato, Pindar, and the rest, are on this Christian father's shelves. And here, for his own practice, Clement

[1] Full information is given on these points in Th. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen.*

[2] H.E., vii. 18.

had determined a much debated point on the liberal side. One particular phase of the problem involved by the Church's contact with the world, was the question of books and reading. When educated persons began to come over to Christianity in greater numbers, this question naturally became acute, and, indeed, it remained in debate till a far later period. Was it permissible or not for a Christian to find delight in the ancient pagan literature, with its grace and charm of language, its scandalous mythologies, its liability to come into contrast or competition with the sacred Scriptures, old or new? Many viewed such reading with grave and serious alarm. Tertullian will have no dealings with "wretched Aristotle."[1] Irenæus felt that the very exploitation of the pagan poets and philosophers by the heretics should be sufficient to warn the Church from so dangerous an alliance.[2] Origen would hardly have sold his secular books for a pension of four obols a day, unless, in addition to financial needs, he had also felt that for him their utility was a thing of the past.[3] "Keep away from all heathen writings," ran the counsel of a later manual;[4] and the series of authorities in favour of renouncing the classics comes to a climax with poor Jerome, who, though he could have stated on oath that he had never read a page of them since his school-days, was reproached in a dream by the severe sentence, "Thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian!"[5]

But Clement is entirely opposed to all these severe restrictions. He claims that even for a Christian these teachers of another order have their value. They, too, had their portion from the universal Word. And on his side

[1] *De præscriptione hæreticorum*, 7. [2] ii. 14. 2; 26. 1. [3] H.E., vi. 3.

[4] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, ii. See Harnack, *Mission*, i. 306.

[5] *Adversus Rufinum*, i. 30: Ep. xxii. 30. See Boissier, *La fin du paganism*, i. 199 *sqq.*; also H. O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, 107 *sqq.*

are the Apologists, who made free use of every book that served their purpose ; and even Tertullian, divided against himself, when he reluctantly admits that divine studies become impossible if secular learning is rejected.[1] Had Clement lived half a century later, he might have been fortified in his opinion by hearing how another leader of the Alexandrian Church, its Bishop, Dionysius, in spite of the warnings of a cautious and narrow presbyter, had been counselled in a dream to "read all on which he could lay his hands";[2] while in still later times Augustine and Ambrose made no secret of their debts to treatises which could not outwardly claim the Christian name. The Church had in those days no alternative to offer to the education of the existing secular schools, and did not eventually find it possible to forbid professors who became Christians continuing to occupy their chairs. So, if something was to be said on the other side, Clement still had ample authority in his favour. He will sometimes plead, diplomatically, that his "chrestomathy" was but as the relish at the feast, but, indeed, no visitor to his library could ever have felt satisfied that such was an adequate account.[3] These old friends and favourites, whom he had known and loved since his school-days, were far more than an accessory influence. He had no thought of banishing them from his library, and he is at once courageous and consistent in his claim that he must be allowed to take them with him, even within the Church. The point was one at issue, and his decision, if cautiously expressed, is quite free from hesitation.

A second feature in Clement's library, of which recent inquiries have made us increasingly aware, is to be seen in the number of compilations, manuals, florilegia, anthologies, contained upon his shelves. Ancient estimates placed Clement's learning very high. His "insignia

[1] *De idololatria*, 10. [2] H.E., vii. 7. [3] 325, 326, 342.

volumina plenaque eruditionis," the range and varied character of his knowledge, his acquaintance with "secular literature" and "all wisdom," are topics of frequent mention by those who wrote of him in after times.[1] Even when doubts as to his orthodoxy dimmed the lustre of his reputation, it was his opinions, never his scholarship, that fell under criticism. If he had not rightly formulated the relationship of the Persons in the Trinity, at least he had understood all that was worth knowing in the poetry and philosophy of Hellas. So his learning stood without challenge, till the moderns started upon the quest for Clement's "sources"; and, since this hunt began, many hard things have been said as to his lack of originality and his copious appropriations of other men's work. He was the "cleverest of thieves," an "ordinary compiler" and no more, a literary blunderer without skill to hide his lack of critical faculty.[2] On his shelves, we are to believe, were the Old and New Testaments, Plato, Philo, a few Gnostic treatises, and besides, perhaps, half a dozen manuals of encyclopædic character, from whose pages he drew without acknowledgment the showy semblance of a learning that was never really his own.

This depreciatory estimate of Clement's scholarship and originality has been held in various forms by many critics since Hermann Diels first brought the charge of clever plagiarism against him in 1879.[3] So far as these

[1] See the "Testimonia veterum" and "Zeugnisse" in the editions of Dindorf and of Stählin.

[2] "Fur callidissimus," Diels, *Doxographi Græci*, p. 19; "Ein gewöhnlicher Kompilator," Gabrielsson, *Ueber die Quellen des Clemens Alexandrinus*, ii. 437; his "totale Kritiklosigkeit," W. Christ, *Philologische Studien zu Clemens Alexandrinus*, p. 11.

[3] *Op. cit.*, esp. pp. 129–32, 244–5. For the literature of the subject, see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, ii. 44–5; De Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, Appendix, "Les Sources de Clément," 333–6; Gabrielsson, *op. cit.*, i. 1–13.

estimates have a common basis, they are supported by considerations of the following type.

To suppose that Clement had intimate acquaintance with all the 348[1] authors to whom there is reference in his works, is to credit him, if the matter be carefully thought out, with an impossible range of learning. Allow him laborious diligence and a retentive memory —qualities which there is good reason to believe he did possess—there is still a difficulty in supposing that every out-of-the-way writer, to whom some single reference is found in Clement's works, was read from end to end in order that for some minute point of chronology, or some detail of moral conduct, he might once be quoted as authority. Clement *may*, of course, have possessed in his library the work of Dinon, *On Sacrifices*,[2] or that of Cydippus, the Mantinean, *On Discoveries*,[3] and a score or two of other similar books, which have totally perished save for his scanty mention of them. It is hard to prove a negative. But such an entire faith in his literary independence has its undoubted difficulties.

Moreover, his learning, to some extent, appears in patches. It is possible to lay undue stress on this feature; for it is only natural that, when any given point arises, all his knowledge of the subject should be collected within short compass. Besides, occasional incidental references which betray the man of books do occur sporadically throughout his works. But the reader, however unprejudiced, who examines with any attention the seven modes of deification, or the list of human sacrifices, or the catalogues of wines and delicacies, or the series of quotations on pleasure and on wealth and poverty, or the

[1] This number is given by P. A. Scheck, *De fontibus Clementis Alexandrini*, p. 15.

[2] 56. [3] 364.

collection of cryptic terms, or the string of omens and superstitions, which are all incorporated in Clement's writings,[1] can hardly resist the suspicion that the actual compilations of these numerous items had been made, before Clement wrote, by earlier specialists.

There is the further consideration that such compilations did exist in plenty. The earlier Alexandrian grammarians had, for their own purposes, sifted and collected the sayings of poets alike of major and minor fame.[2] Moral and philosophic dicta on various subjects had been gathered into "Florilegia," of which an excellent example, albeit the only one approximately complete, still survives in the later work of Johannes Stobæus. Favorinus, in the reign of Hadrian, had compiled a famous manual, encyclopædic in character, of which a few fragments are extant.[3] Miscellanies were a literary fashion of the time, and Clement himself was to add yet another to their number. Moreover, among the writers he quotes are some whose works were certainly of this order; the *Pandects* of Dorotheus,[4] the *Memoirs of the Philosophers*, or by whatever other title the work of Antilochus was known,[5] the various "Histories" with which Clement frankly claims familiarity,[6] must have been what, in modern language, would approximate to "works of reference." He makes no secret of his use of these. His critics seem sometimes to have attributed to him a claim to originality and research which it has not been difficult to demolish, just because he never made it.

Finally, Clement's own words and sentiments are at times so near to those of other authors, that the familiar literary problem arises, "Did they quote him, or he quote

[1] 22, 36, 164, 184–5, 492 *sqq.*, 573 *sqq.*, 672 *sqq.*, 841 *sqq.*

[2] See the account of the work of Aretades in W. Christ, *op. cit.*, 19.

[3] The remains of his παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία are given in Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, iii. 579 *sqq.*

[4] 399. [5] 366. [6] δι τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενοι, 615.

them, or both use a common source?" There are parallels between Clement and the *De natura deorum* of Cicero;[1] between Clement and Aulus Gellius;[2] between Clement and Plutarch;[3] which at once raise problems of this order. The resemblances between Clement and Tatian probably imply the use of a common source as well as direct citation on Clement's part.[4] Moreover, if both Clement and Athenæus describe Sardanapalus as "turning up the whites of his eyes,"[5] the phrase must have almost certainly originated in a book which both Clement and Athenæus knew. Its recurrence could hardly be accidental, and Athenæus, the later writer, is not likely to have read the *Pædagogus*.

These are examples of the literary considerations by which many recent critics have been led to their impoverished estimate of Clement's once uncontested learning. The papyri of numerous authors whom he mentions were never really, as they would have us think, unrolled by Clement's hands or stored upon the shelves of his library. We may examine for a moment or two a few of those "manuals" which, in their stead, the researches of modern continental scholars have located in his collection and within our reach.

When Judaism and Hellenism came into contact, as they specially did in Alexandria, there arose a class of writers whose aim it was to discover the teaching of Moses in the writings of the Greeks. For this purpose passages which showed any affinity with the Scriptures were diligently collected from the Greek poets, and not infrequently alterations or interpolations were perpetrated to substantiate the claim. Nor, indeed, did the champions of Moses rest here. The Scriptures were even held to be the

[1] Especially in the *Protrepticus*, see Stählin's references.
[2] Gabrielsson, *op. cit.*, ii. 167–198.
[3] *Ib.*, 345–381. See, too, Index to vol. i.
[4] Christ, *op. cit.*, 43–50; Gabrielsson, *op. cit.*, i. 134–163; ii. 381–429.
[5] 294. See Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, xii. 528–9.

original source of all that was true in Hellenic poetry and philosophy: the Greeks had "stolen" all their best possessions. From 200 B.C. onwards, books of this order were frequently written. Aristobulus, Alexander Polyhistor, a certain pseudo-Hecatæus, were important authors of this type. On Clement's shelves there may well have been several such compilations. The forged verses of Orpheus and the Sybil, the discussion on the Seventh Day, the often spurious proofs that the poets taught Monotheism, are probably derived from such Jewish-Alexandrine works. Difficult as the details and particulars are to recover, there can be little doubt as to the general fact, that Clement was very considerably dependent upon the earlier labours of this school. At times he follows them blindly in their errors and inventions.[1]

Alexandria again was well known for its interest in chronology, and there is a long chapter in the *Stromateis*[2] in which Clement argues for the priority of Moses to the early teachers of Greece. He well knows that here he is no pioneer. Tatian and Cassianus, he admits, had already dealt fully with the point, but not the less he gives the subject a long discussion. Here, again, his dependence is great. Whether behind his pages we can discern the authority of a learned Jewish-Christian chronographer of the tenth year of Antoninus,[3] or whether we must rest content with no more than the probability that on Clement's shelves several chronological compendia were at hand for use, is a question we must leave to the specialists. In any case we can hardly regard the chapter as an original piece of work, or suppose that all the authorities named are cited at first hand.

[1] On this see the monograph of P. A. Scheck, already mentioned.

[2] I., xxi. 378 *sqq.*

[3] See A. Schlatter, *Der Chronograph aus dem zehnten Jahre Antonins*, Texte und Untersuchungen, xii.

There is an earlier chapter in the same book[1] which contains a list of various inventions, ranging from the alphabet to boxing-gloves. Similar lists are to be found in the elder Pliny, in Tatian, and elsewhere.[2] Apparently catalogues of this kind were in circulation. Such a manual may have been in Clement's possession, so that we need not attribute his statement that Medea was the first lady who dyed her hair to original research. He was indeed more explicit in his acknowledgment of obligation here than he was usually wont to be.[3]

Reference has already been made to Favorinus. A Swedish scholar, Johannes Gabrielsson, has elaborated with indefatigable pains the contention that the learned encyclopædic compilation of this writer was by far the most important of all Clement's sources of information.[4] His references to such well-known commonplaces as the names of Socrates' accusers, and the Platonic community of women, are said to be derived from this work, while even Clement's knowledge of the burning of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, where he lived, is not allowed him except through the medium of this all-comprehensive source. It is probable enough that Clement possessed and used the book of Favorinus. But the evidence available is insufficient to prove the extreme measure of dependence, which is asserted in Gabrielsson's theory. We may well believe that a copy of the παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία was accessible to Clement or even actually in his library. But there were other volumes there

[1] xvi. 361 *sqq.*

[2] See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 56; Tatian, *Adv. Græcos*, 1. It is interesting to recall the fact that this Pliny left behind him *one hundred and sixty volumes of extracts.* This is a significant instance of the literary practice of the period. Plin. (jun.) *Ep.*, iii. 5.

[3] 364, especially.

[4] In the work previously mentioned. Gabrielsson refers also to his treatise, *Ueber Favorinus und seine* παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία.

as well, and even Clement did not learn everything from books.[1]

Such may well have been some of Clement's much used manuals, but in this "Quellenkritik" of the Alexandrine father the last word has not yet been said, and any estimate of the measure of his dependence upon works of this type must therefore be tentative and provisional. But it may be held in general, at least until the contrary is proved, that Clement emerges from the ordeal, not indeed the marvel of learning which he was once supposed to be, but still a scholar of deserved repute. There are not so many volumes in his library as we once believed, and some among them come perilously near to being "short cuts to knowledge," but the number is still considerable, and Clement's intimate and first-hand familiarity with many ancient Greek authors bespeaks at once the student and the master. How far he was from being the mere compiler or the shameless plagiarist may be more clear if two considerations are borne in mind.

For we can check his learning, as scholars who know him best have pointed out, in certain important respects. His knowledge of Scripture, of Plato, of Philo, is not matter of hypothesis, and his knowledge here is indeed remarkable. His learning, measured by his acquaintance with these authors, is of a far higher type than some, who have lost their sense of proportion in tracking out his sources, would have us believe. If he knew these books so well, the presumption is increased in favour of his having also read Plutarch and Herodotus. There is good reason to believe that he did make large use of manuals and florilegia, but in any fair estimate we must place on the other side of the

[1] Christ, *op. cit.*, 39, rightly reminds us that among Clement's sources must be included "sein ausgedehnter Verkehr mit gebildeten und gelehrten Männern." For Stählin's criticism of Gabrielsson's work see *Berlin Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1908, No. 13.

account his frequent aptness in quotation, his ready command of important books which still survive, the fact that his followers were at pains to preserve so many of his works, and the repute he enjoyed among generations which had certainly not forgotten how books in the second century were often made. Harnack,[1] Bardenhewer,[2] Sandys,[3] De Faye,[4] still credit him with real learning ; nor, when his friends imagine themselves within his library, need they blush for his memory. His avowed affection for Plato and Homer is as little fraudulent as his estimate of Moses and Saint Paul.

Further, if there are works of reference upon his shelves, and if he does not always explicitly acknowledge his debts when he borrows material, and even extracts, from Philo and other sources, be it remembered that he must be judged by the literary standards of his time. He knew such standards existed, just as well as Galen and Athenæus did, for he complains about the unauthorised publication of a writer's works.[5] Moreover, he was far too simple and direct a character to have written so strongly as he did on "literary thefts," if he was meantime exposing himself to a similar charge from every learned man of his own day. Books in earlier ages were largely made from books, and how skilfully and how entirely without acknowledgment this could

[1] "Wo wir klar sehen können, nämlich in sein Verhältnis zur christlichen Urlitteratur, erweist er sich als grundgelehrter Mann, der auf die Original-quellen zuruck geht," etc. ; *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, II. (ii.) 16.

[2] "Die Trilogie ist ein überaus gelehrtes Werk," *op. cit.*, ii. 39.

[3] "There is no doubt as to the vast variety of his learning, however imperfectly it may be assimilated," *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 331.

[4] "Il paraît bien qu'une bonne partie de la science du catéchète chrétien est de seconde main. Il ne faut pas, cependant, exagérer. A côté de l'*indigesta moles* qu'il tire de ses manuels, Clément possédait sûrement une tres vaste lecture." . . . Certain books "donnent l'impression que Clément n'est qu'un plagiaire. Il est nécessaire de la corriger en tentant compte d'autres faits," *op. cit.*, 333–5.

[5] 324.

be done, both the Old and the New Testaments amply illustrate. The anthologies and compilations, of which so much has been said, were the equivalents of the modern Encyclopædia, and, where a reference now suffices, an extract then was usual; for copies were more scarce, and the reader's possession of one was not, as a rule, assumed. Clement repeatedly mentions his authorities, and he discusses with evident honesty the methods of his own work, and these things are quite incompatible with any conscious and far-reaching violation of the standards of authorship as he knew them. Moreover, he makes no claim to originality, inspiration, independence; rather tradition, collection, appropriation, are the avowed characteristics of his work. This is all implied in his well-known figure of the bee, which he uses not only of Pantænus, his master, but also to justify his own claims for wider culture.[1] Its use clearly implies the gathering of stores from all parts of the wide meadow of knowledge and the fusing of material already existing into one elaborated whole. Throughout, in his achievement of this task, we must measure him by the standards of his time.

The reader is now in a position to make a somewhat closer inspection of the papyri upon Clement's shelves, no longer expecting to find there every one of the 348 authors to whom Clement refers, but yet making the survey, roll after roll, with a certain respect for the owner's memory, as for that of one whom an age of criticism has failed to dislodge from his position as the first great Christian scholar. We may take the collection, class by class, and see to what purpose each was used.

In Clement's library the Holy Scriptures, Old and New, stand first. No other books were so frequently in his hands,

[1] 322. *Cp.* αὐτὴ (*sc.* ἡ μέλισσα) πάντα τὸν λειμῶνα ἐπινεμομένη ἓν κήριον γεννᾷ, 336.

none exercised so constant an influence upon his own writings. But Clement's use of Scripture is too wide a subject to be discussed incidentally, during a brief inspection of his numerous papyri. The Scriptures must be left apart for separate and more detailed consideration,[1] and with them the sub-apostolic literature, Hermas, Barnabas, the *Didache*, and other works, which were not as yet clearly distinguished from the books subsequently recognised as canonical.

Philo, probably, should come next. Clement knew his writings well, and spoke of Philo as an authority,[2] elsewhere naming him as a Pythagorean, which was equally a term of praise. He made no secret of his abundant use of Philo, for he directly mentions his *Life of Moses*,[3] and also employed the treatise *De congressu eruditionis gratia* so freely that Alexandrian readers must at once have recognised his obligations. Most of his quotations are quite unacknowledged, but also quite without concealment; they are an important factor with modern editors in determining Philo's text.[4] Clement seems to have possessed an excellent manuscript, not far removed from the original. How frequently he must have made use of it, is evident from the long lists of borrowed passages which have been drawn up by more than one authority.[5] But, in truth, Clement's debts cannot be assessed by such particular appropriations. Philo's teaching had become part of the religious atmosphere of Alexandria, and far-reaching principles, such as the Logos doctrine and Allegory, came into Christianity through him, as well as particular statements about Moses and

[1] See, *infra*, chaps. xvii., xviii. [2] *αὐτός*, 404, *cp.* 360, 482. [3] 413.

[4] See P. Wendland's article, *Philo und Clemens Alexandrinus*, in Hermes, xxxi., pp. 435 *sqq.*

[5] Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des alten Testaments*, 343–51. See also the Introductions in Cohn and Wendland's edition of Philo, and Dr Stählin's references.

encyclical education. And whether Clement could have been a Christian Platonist unless Philo had been a Jewish Platonist before him, is indeed a question to be asked rather than answered.

Another important section of his library consisted of the heretical treatises of the Gnostics. Sermons and Letters of the great Valentinus ; Commentaries and moral works of Isidaurus, son of Basilides ; a scandalous book of Epiphanes on Justice ; Expositions of Heracleon ; the Exegetica of Cassianus ; the writings of Theodotus, the eastern Valentinian ; together, doubtless, with many other treatises from the same productive field, were all upon Clement's shelves. He read these Gnostic books, characteristically, both to criticise and to learn, as we shall see more in detail in another place. They were a considerable influence among thoughtful people, and Clement never underrated their importance. How diligently this Christian teacher used his books may be gathered by a single glance at the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. A copy of Tatian's *Address to the Greeks* was also to be found in Clement's library ; but, though he makes frequent references to Marcion and his teaching, it does not seem that he possessed the *Antitheses* of this famous heresiarch.

So we pass on to another group—the Philosophers. Clement possibly knew the pre-Socratic masters only or mainly through extracts, but even if he did not possess complete copies of their works, he evidently set great store by their authority. He valued them for their antiquity, made frequent use of their gnomic sayings, and was evidently pleased when it could be claimed that their teaching accorded with that of Scripture. Probably his favourite among them was Heraclitus, with his dark, hidden wisdom and his theory of ultimate elemental fire.[1] His praise of

[1] γενναῖος, 432, *cp.* 711–12.

a "lean, dry soul" and his shrewd remark that "much learning does not always bring wisdom," are both quoted,[1] though either would have sounded strange on Clement's own lips. More appropriate to the author of the *Stromateis* was the dictum that by digging over much earth you may discover a little gold.[2] Besides, Heraclitus, like Clement, commended both the attitude of faith and the spirit of inquiry.[3]

Scarcely inferior in Clement's estimate was the wisdom of the "great" Pythagoras,[4] whose school had made so notable a revival in the second century. Clement must have been specially attracted by his love of symbolic teaching, by his belief in the immanence of God, by his humane attitude towards animals.[5] Whether he would ever have accepted himself the discipline of a five years' silence is less easy to say.[6]

These were the greatest of the pre-Socratics in Clement's eyes. Democritus he could scarcely admire, for was he not the master of Epicurus?[7] but Clement hopes charitably that his theory of images was not so wholly atheistical as it seemed.[8] Empedocles he quotes several times, though he can hardly have found his pessimism congenial; he speaks to the Greeks of him as "your poet, Empedocles."[9] Perhaps it may be wondered that he did not set more store by Anaxagoras, to whom there are few references. Clement does not build on this early Hellenic wisdom, but he has a real interest in knowing what these ancient masters thought, and feels that to some extent his own convictions, or the truths of Scripture, gain additional security when some parallel can be quoted in the dark verses of the Ionic or Eleatic schools.

[1] 184, 373. [2] 565. [3] 442, 733.
[4] He was ὁ μέγας, 383. [5] 62, 477, 661–2.
[6] 686. [7] 752. [8] 698. [9] 23.

Chief, however, among the philosophers of Greece in Clement's estimate was Plato. He was "the best" of all, the "friend of truth," a man "almost inspired."[1] Clement directly quotes from Plato about one hundred and sixty times, and makes other frequent references to his authority. Many reminiscences, too, of Plato's language bear their evidence to Clement's familiarity with the Dialogues, among which *The Laws*, *The Republic*, *The Phædo*, *The Timæus*, and *The Theætetus* were evidently his favourites. In the twelve longest quotations from *The Republic*, and in the six longest from *The Phædo*, there is no deviation of any moment from the text of Plato, as the best MSS. now extant represent it. It is generally allowed that, whatever may be the case in regard to other authors, from Plato at any rate Clement made his quotations at first hand, from his own copy.[2] So he is the greatest of all the ancient masters in Clement's eyes. For the conception of punishment; for the interpretation of the end of life as likeness to God; for belief in the freedom and responsibility of man; for the vision of an ideal city in the heavens; and for a certain characteristic depreciation of the multitude, Clement was, in part at least, indebted to the great philosopher of Athens, who came so near to Christianity that he all but foretold the Lord's sufferings and the true relationship of the Father and the Son.[3] "It is impossible to disbelieve the sons of the gods, even when they speak without apparent and compelling evidence," ran a passage Clement quotes from *The Timæus*.[4] With some such faith he himself had delighted

[1] 286, 341.

[2] On the citations of Plato in Clement, see the article by F. L. Clark, Ph.D., in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for July, 1902 (pp. xii–xx); *cp.* Gabrielsson, *op. cit.*, i. 223; Dindorf, I., xxii.–xxiii. Clement quotes Plato, αὐταῖς ταῖς λέξεσιν, 700, etc.

[3] 138, 147, 482, 642, 647, 655, 710, 714, 731.

[4] 697, *Timæus*, 40, d, e.

to follow the great idealist along the road that led from sense and time to ultimate reality.

To the other philosophers Clement is less indebted. He had a considerable familiarity with their views on a variety of subjects, varying from the nature of the chief good to the psychology of the sacrificial swine, but they are rather useful for reference or citation than valued friends, as Plato was. For his knowledge of them he may have been much indebted to the labours of previous collectors. And throughout, his attitude and estimate was mainly determined by his own theological interests. Thus he has no great appreciation of Aristotle. The doctrine of the mean, the theory of habit, his diligent collection of facts and opinions, might well have commended the philosopher of Stagira to Clement's favourable regard, but Clement was, indeed, born a Platonist, and not even the confessed eclectic can be an Aristotelian as well. Besides, Aristotle's day was yet to come. So for Clement he was mainly a teacher of physical science ; his most important doctrines had been borrowed from Plato, and he had erred in thinking of God as the "anima mundi," immanent but not transcendent, as also in limiting the range of Providence.[1] This is scant justice ; if Clement possessed his own copy of the *Ethics* he probably read it rarely and without enthusiasm.

His use of the Stoics is curious. He was very greatly indebted to this school. The Logos doctrine, which lay at the heart of Clement's theology, was fundamentally akin to Stoic teaching, and Clement's ideal Gnostic has obvious affinities with the "Wise Man" of whom the masters of the Porch had said so much. From the same source he had acquired his admiration for "Apathy." Stoic ideas and terminology occur frequently in his writings. Yet with all

[1] 58, 699–700, 752, 894.

this manifold indebtedness, there is no cordial appreciation. Clement takes offence at their Pantheism. That God should pervade material substance, even the basest, that He should have a corporeal existence, that He should even be identified with Nature, or that virtue in Him should be the same in principle as it is in man, to Clement were hard and dangerous sayings.[1] Nor can he accept their extreme teaching as to the soul's independence of the body,[2] while their illuminating theory of cyclic, cosmic fire was one he may not really have understood.[3] Hence, though he can sometimes speak in praise of Zeno, and evidently had considerable respect for Cleanthes, and has moreover handed down to us a fine passage from Aratus—interesting incidentally as containing the words quoted on Mars Hill by Saint Paul—it can hardly be said that Clement gave the Stoics their due.[4] No doubt he was a Greek, and Stoicism was greatest when it came to Rome. Its literature was hardly honoured in Clement's library as it had been in that of Marcus Aurelius. In this respect he was the eclectic rather than the disciple, borrowing and quoting and claiming what he could, but never committing himself.[5] In like fashion, though he was no Cynic, he would quote Antisthenes. He was even further from the Cyrenaics, but he made use of Aristippus, and on occasion will even find that Epicurean philosophers have had their hints and portions of the truth.[6]

Such were the philosophers whose works, whole or in extracts, were on the Alexandrian father's shelves. He knew them well and valued them, and fought hard to secure

[1] 58, 346, 482, 699, 886.

[2] 572 ; in this he agreed with Herodes Atticus. *Noctes Atticæ*, xix. 12.

[3] 711–12.

[4] 61–2, 494, 655, 691, 708–9.

[5] For an extreme statement of Clement's indebtedness to the Stoics, see C. Merk, *Clemens Alexandrinus in seiner Abhängigkeit von der griechischen Philosophie.* This has been critcised by F. Overbeck, in *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1879, No. 20.

[6] 61, 207, 210, 485, 498.

for their teaching a place within Christianity. Plato, at any rate, was not neglected because the Scriptures had been added to Clement's library.

With other prose writers of Greece Clement was less intimately familiar, and it must remain very doubtful whether he knew them at first hand, or only quoted them through such compilations as that of Favorinus. Herodotus he mentions several times, and clearly, like other moralists, thought highly of his wise reflections. There is more than one reminiscence of Thucydides, and Clement borrows a famous phrase when he says that divine training is a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί.[1] Of the less known historians he cites Hellanicus and also the later Eratosthenes, the father of chronology.[2] He may have read some of the twenty-two books of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and there is one reference to Josephus. Then we come to Plutarch. Some of the famous *Lives* were known to Clement, and, if Stählin's view be more right than Gabrielsson's, the volumes of the great biographer and magistrate of Chæronea may have been located upon his shelves.[3] But they were not very frequently unrolled. Nor has he much liking for the orators. Now and again he will make use of some well-known phrase from Demosthenes or cite an extract from Isocrates.[4] He might have found a good deal for his purpose in Dion Chrysostom, had he possessed a copy of his Orations, but this seems not to have been the case. Indeed, Clement said so many hard things about rhetoricians and sophists and the trickeries of speech, that he probably

[1] 130, *cp.* 233.

[2] Eratosthenes, 389, 402–3, and elsewhere. Hellanicus, 359, 364, 381, etc. For Josephus see 409. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 379. On the last see Christ, *op. cit.*, 55.

[3] The "indirecte Plutarch-benutzung" is often asserted in Gabrielsson, see i. 170 *sqq.*; ii. 345 *sqq.* See also the criticism of Stählin previously mentioned.

[4] *E.g.* 53, 687.

spent little money upon books of this order. He was a great reader, but facts and ideas appealed to him more than literary form, and it may be questioned whether he ever brought back a single papyrus from his bookseller's simply for the sake of its excellence of style. "In that way realities escape us," he would say,[1] and recall the simple, unadorned diction of the Lord.

Finally, he had a poets' corner, and, if literary weakness ever overcame him, it was here. It was an Alexandrian tradition to make more of poetry than of prose, and Clement perhaps did not belie it. At any rate the poets, for him, stand side by side with the philosophers, even though Plato had banished them from his ideal city. Pindar, for example, Clement greatly valued. He was a "Pythagorean," and he had said wise things in verse on the value of reticence and reserve; on the gain of departing hence and entering upon the bliss of the world unseen; on the infinite difficulty of discovering the mind of God.[2] Pindar, too, had recognised in God a Saviour, and so anticipated the Christian term.[3] He was thus a sort of ally, albeit an unconscious one. Again, he makes considerable use of the Orphic poems. Orpheus was hierophant, mystagogue, theologian, poet of Eleusis, who had taught the unity of the Divine Nature, and even anticipated the doctrine of the Word.[4] The spurious character of these verses apparently caused him little concern, though he was quite aware that critics had raised the question.[5] It is in a somewhat similar manner that he exploits the Sibylline verses. He quotes the "Hebrew prophetess" with entire reliance.[6] She, too, had taught monotheism and was a most useful ally in attacking the divinities of the myths.[7] Apparently he expected these

[1] 430, *cp.* 818. [2] 345, 518, 640, 709, 726–7. [3] 731–2.
[4] 15, 63, 692–3. A less favourable quotation occurs in 17–18.
[5] 397. [6] 44, 61. [7] 66.

fabricated poems to carry weight even with the Greeks. They are much quoted in the *Protrepticus*.

Then we come to the dramatists. "Tragedy," he says, "draws the mind away from idols and teaches us to look up to heaven."[1] Again and again he finds the poets of the stage have expressed the thing he has in mind to say, and his ideas gain precision and support when he can illustrate them by adding "as the poet says." In this way he claims their sanction in dealing with an astonishing range of subjects, from the bliss of higher knowledge and splendid protests, like Antigone's, on behalf of right; down to man's shabby treatment of the gods when he sacrifices, or the tricks of a lady's maid, or the folly of high-heeled shoes.[2] Clement has little liking for Æschylus, whose sombre theology could never have appealed to him; nor even for Sophocles, whose perfect art would be lost on Clement, and whose conception of the divine Irony was very far removed from his unfailing belief in the philanthropy of the Word. But with Euripides it is quite otherwise. According to the common estimate he was the "philosopher upon the stage," and Clement delights to discover a "most excellent concord" between Euripides and Scripture, and to remember that he "disregarded his audience and fixed his mind on truth."[3] Criticism of popular theology; teaching on the folly of atheism; sound counsel on the blessedness of clear knowledge and right conduct; God's independence of temples made with hands, and of human songs of praise; even the true doctrine of the Father and the Son, could all be found in Euripides.[4] So Clement read him for the sake of his kindly theology, his wisdom, his humanity. He quotes his plays about eighty times, ten times as frequently as those of Æschylus.

[1] 717.
[2] 256, 296, 585, 634, 846–7.
[3] 65, 688, 691.
[4] 634, 732, and last references.

And Comedy, even for a Christian doctor, had its uses. Aristophanes could be quoted on the side of faith.[1] Diphilus, Menander, and their company, were useful in their ridicule of the follies and the extravagances of the world. Many fragments from Greek comedy survive only in Clement's pages. Like Saint Paul, he seeks to win conviction by reminding his hearers or readers that "their own poets" knew the truths he was trying to enforce. The apt quotation comes readily to his pen, and sometimes, in his use of comedy, the seriousness of the preacher blends strangely with his sense of humour. Clement knew that even in the Divine Nature laughter had its place.[2]

Finally, there were the great Epic Poets; specially, of course, Clement's favourite Homer. Hesiod is not infrequently quoted; he also had his guesses at truth, knew the long steep road of virtue, and unconsciously hinted at Abraham and the disciples of the Lord.[3] He is always mentioned with agreement and respect, and is in some sense a minor authority with Clement. But he is second, *longo intervallo* second, to Homer, for Homer was the Greek Bible with a difference, and Clement was a Christian who never forgot that he was a Greek. Homer was the oldest of the poets, a reliable witness, and, if the interpolators had sometimes manipulated his text, Clement was either happily ignorant, or at least not sufficient of a critic to be concerned.[4] So Homer is quoted frequently, often with a certain unconscious literary skill on Clement's part. The fatherhood of God and the brevity of man's little life are expressed in familiar verses of the *Iliad*.[5] The works of the Logos are described in Homeric lines.[6] The well-known description of the mother-bird's anxiety for her

[1] 584. [2] 110–11. [3] 62–3, 279, 427, 565.
[4] 26, 644. On interpolated verses see Christ, *op. cit.*, 35.
[5] 69, 127, 518. [6] 310.

young is used to illustrate God's love and restorative care for man.[1] "Even as a hen gathereth her chickens," comes to the reader's mind at once, as a parallel. The longing of the old man of Ithaca for his home is like the Christian's desire for heaven, and the charming Nausicaa of the *Odyssey*, whose dignity could suffer no loss by her washing of the family linen, is placed side by side with Sarah in Clement's catalogue of honourable women.[2] Sometimes, just by a phrase, as when he speaks of "purple" death, or says God is "as a father gentle," or describes truth as "stern, but a good foster mother"—like Ithaca—he betrays his constant familiarity with poetry which he must have prized since his school-days.[3]

Clement, it is true, employs Homer also for discrediting the myths, and he feels all the scandal of the stories about Zeus and the other Olympians, but he has expressly recorded his conviction that Homer saw beyond his own anthropomorphism.[4] Homer had lived in the days when the world was young, and Clement's Christianity has a certain freshness and untroubled simplicity about it, as though for him and for his fellows the world had found again its gladness and its youth. Perhaps the literary history of Christianity contains few happier instances than Clement's use of the Homeric poems, of the extent to which it is sometimes possible to take over into a new Faith the treasures and the friendships of the past. Our brief survey of Clement's library may fitly terminate as we replace upon his shelves these precious rolls, some of which contained the immemorial tale of Troy, and others the story of the wanderings of the most adroit and most intimately Greek of all the goodly company of the heroes.

All who believe, as Clement did, that culture can aid religion, though it cannot create it, will be glad that on his

[1] 74. [2] 71, 620. [3] 69, 85, 239. [4] 719.

conversion Clement did not cease to prize and read his books. To some extent he knew "the best that had been thought and said in the world" of his day, and he was undoubtedly more successful than many others, who have made the attempt, in solving the problem of Literature and Dogma. We are able to see, through his example, how the Church appropriated the best possessions of the world, and how a boldly constructive effort of Christian liberalism was ventured and carried through. For, broad as Clement was, his breadth was positive; his unaccomplished aim was a great synthesis, his quest a most catholic and unprejudiced inquiry after truth. Hence the many books in the old scholar's library were of even greater service in confirming and enlarging his assertions, than in giving sanction to his criticisms and denials. The somewhat detailed discussion which this chapter has contained of Clement's use of books may have sufficed to make clear the sincere welcome with which he greets a Christian sentiment when he can find it on some pagan page. His endeavour to discover Christianity in Hellenism is strong enough to lead him far astray from literary and critical good sense, and his whole theory of the indebtedness of the Greeks to Scripture was an unhappy heritage, of which he made needless and excessive use. These admissions must not make us forget his generous loyalty to the books he learned to love before his baptism, nor his wonderful instinct for the unity of truth.

Never before had the early Church been told so boldly that there was good in Paganism, and that her sacred Scriptures were the highest but not the only documents which revealed the will of God. Never before in the library of a Christian man of learning had Plato and Euripides been so frankly claimed as friends. Never before had those who hesitated to come over been so encouraged to recognise the abiding value of treasures that already were

their own. Inclusive, not exclusive, was the character of Clement's Christianity, and wherever he may wander in the wide field of literature, he finds unsuspected traces of the influence of the Word. Such a tendency has its obvious dangers, and men may be so generous that they give away their pearls. But an assertion that is too wide is better than a denial which is narrower than the truth; and the history of the Christian Church would have been in many ways different, and in some ways happier, had it always possessed among its teachers a larger proportion of the men who, like Clement, seek for correspondence rather than diversity of view, remember that poets often teach true theology, believe that a true thing deserves equal recognition whether it is uttered by an enemy or a friend, and who in the quiet of their libraries search the profane as well as the sacred Scriptures with the full conviction that the field is one, and that in every quarter of it there is much that may be claimed for Christ.

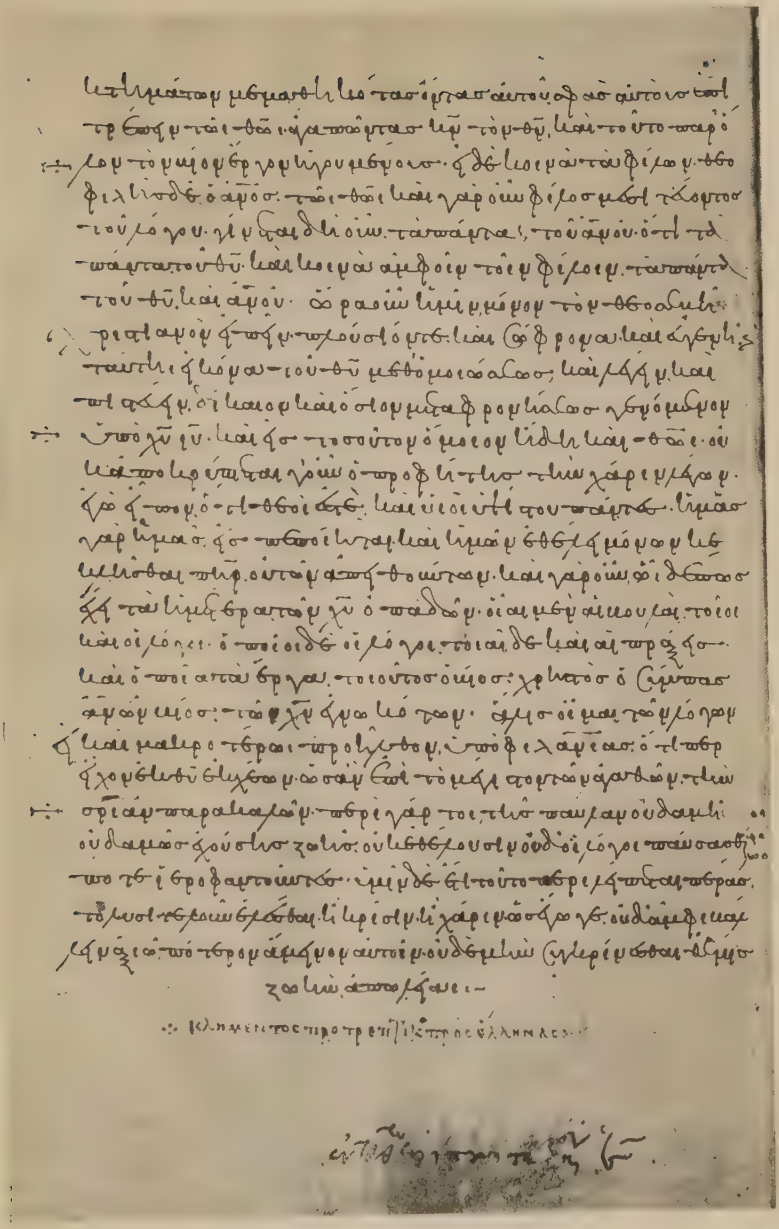
CHAPTER VI

LITERARY WORK

During the later years of his residence in Alexandria Clement determined to give his teaching a permanent and written form. It was a natural decision on several grounds. He had lived the life of a student since his early school-days. He had gathered abundant materials. Even within the Church he had the example of many contemporaries who were authors. He had made his home in a city of books and libraries. It is thus no matter for surprise that literary work should have formed a considerable element in the latter half of his career. It is as a writer, not less than as head of the Alexandrian School, that he was afterwards remembered. He was the "Stromatist," the "author," *συγγραφεύς*, *χρονογράφος*, and the like.[1]

Nevertheless, so natural a decision was not reached without a good deal of hesitation. There were considerations against, as well as for, the publication of his teaching in the form of books, and his caution and deliberate care in taking up the pen contrast sharply enough with his freedom and his readiness to follow any train of thought, when once he has started upon the writer's enterprise. It is still possible to see the various lines of argument which occurred to him, as the gains and risks of authorship passed alternately through his mind. It is wholly to Clement's credit that in

[1] See the references in Stählin, I., ix. *sqq.* ; III., 224 *sqq.*



THE OLDEST EXISTING MS. OF CLEMENT'S WORKS.
Paris. Græc., 451, *f.* 56. (Reduced.)

[In the Bibliothèque Nationale. The MS. contains the *Protrepticus*, also the concluding passage of the first book and the second and third books of the *Pædagogus* of Clement, and several works of other writers. The above is the concluding portion of the *Protrepticus*; in the Berlin Edition, vol. i. p. 86, lines 7–30.]

an age of facile and abundant literary production he treated the question so seriously.

As against writing there was the fact that it would be for him a new departure. Oral instruction was one thing, the written book another.[1] To lecture or preach well was no guarantee of success in writing : indeed, the different qualities demanded by the two modes of expression do not, he suspects, belong to the same nature. There is a certain unrestrained freedom which is the mark of the ready speaker. There is a certain precision and exactitude demanded in the writer, whose words will remain to be questioned and criticised. Even if style does not matter and literary merit forms, as he tells us, no part of his aim,[2] still there is a fundamental difference between the lecture and the treatise. They are distinct modes of spiritual husbandry, not the least among their many diversities being the fact that the lecturer knows his pupils, whereas the author has no knowledge of those who will read his books. So he had to face the question of his personal fitness for a new department of Christian service. His decision was justified by the event.

But there was yet a further difficulty to be faced. To write books was not only to depart from the previous manner of his vocation in the Catechetical School, it was also an innovation on the practice of the teachers he most revered. Those "Elders,"[3] to whom Clement feels himself so greatly indebted, were the recipients and the transmitters of an oral tradition, but they did not write books. He expressly states that this was so,[4] and discusses the

[1] 320, 996. Both passages are important.

[2] *Cp.* his statement, οὐ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἥδε ἡ πραγματεία, 322, and his contemptuous reference to the λεξειδίων θηράτορες, 328.

[3] *Cp.* De Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 16 and 28 *sqq.*: Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, I. (i.), 291 *sqq.*

[4] 996.

reason of their rigid adherence to the oral method. Partly, he thinks, it was because they had not time ; partly, because they had not the aptitude. His account of their reasons is obviously inadequate, and even the actual statement that they did not write is open to grave question in the case of his nearest and most influential master, Pantænus.[1] There is no doubt, however, that he regarded oral tradition as the chosen and established method of these earliest teachers whom he does not name. It was a serious matter for him, their pupil, the lesser man of a later day—"few are the equals of our fathers"—to venture on fresh methods, and to impart by writing the truths which wiser and older men had held should only come to fit recipients by the living voice. Clement's regard for the Elders was quite genuine and serious, however difficult it may be to harmonise with his very considerable independence as a teacher. Their example could only be set aside for good and sufficient reasons.

But there were more positive and concrete difficulties yet for him to face, if Clement was to put his teaching into books. So far as the mere question of method, oral or literary, was involved, if he elected to depart from the practice of the Elders, the concern and responsibility were all his own. But wider interests came into account when he considered the possible consequences to his readers. Had it been a question of presenting to the pagan world a simple statement of the Gospel, or of reasserting, from the Christian standpoint, the accepted canons of moral conduct, this further point would hardly have arisen. But Clement had no intention of limiting his published works to these important but preliminary issues. Christianity, as he knew it, had deeper truths and more advanced instruction. There were mysteries and esoteric doctrines and wider views of

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 14.

God's great purpose, which all men were not ready to receive. Among his own pupils he had clearly made distinctions,[1] and some had been led further than others along the road towards perfect vision. A teacher using oral methods could deal in this way with his hearers. He could make selection. A book, on the other hand, must take its chance. The wrong readers might take it up. It would be misunderstood, and criticised by the ignorant; its higher meaning would be subject for ridicule from the uneducated brother, who had established himself on the lower planes of truth. So a dangerous sword would be put into a child's hand or, in another figure, the pearls of truth cast before the unclean swine.

This was likely enough to happen in Alexandria. In Clement's day the Church and the School were not in any close relationship. The School was intellectual, independent, aristocratic, winning its converts successfully from the educated heathen and showing an attitude not wholly unsympathetic to philosophy and even to the better side of Gnosticism. The rank and file of the Church were men and women of a different order. They were not people of much education. Demetrius, the Bishop, had himself little learning. Even as late as the episcopate of Dionysius (A.D. 248–265) there were Elders in Alexandria who thought it wrong to read books which were not orthodox.[2] So culture, philosophy, libraries, and speculation, had slight place in their religion, and for churchmen of this type Gnosticism proved only too clearly the evils of advanced knowledge and the awful conclusions to which inquiry was almost sure to lead.

These sincere and narrow souls appear in Clement's pages as the "Orthodoxasts"; they are the literal, simple believers

[1] The lecturer *διακρίνει τῶν ἄλλων τὸν οἷόν τε ἀκούειν*, 320.

[2] H.E., vii. 7.

with whom Origen also was to be acquainted.[1] Their motto was "faith only," and Clement, tender as he was towards these simple brethren as a rule, cannot forbid himself the sarcasm that they "expected to eat the fruit of the vine without taking any pains about its culture."[2] They have their exact counterpart in modern times, and their suspicion of the intellectual attitude towards religion is usually aggressive and irremediable. It was certainly so in Alexandria, and what were such persons likely to say of a book on advanced doctrine with the philosophic and learned Clement as its author? Before he wrote the *Stromateis*, not, it would seem, through earlier publications, but more probably by rumour and gossip which gathered round his lecture-room, he had clearly drawn upon himself a certain amount of ignorant criticism from these unphilosophic brethren. Even if name and reputation were matters of slight account, there was still the possible loss of influence to be considered. Besides, the interests of the Church, and even the spiritual welfare of these simple and nervous brethren, alike demanded that such a project as Clement had in mind should not be rashly undertaken. It was a matter for conscience and right judgment, and Clement faced all the risks before he decided to issue in the form of a book such teaching as, hitherto, had been imparted only to an inner circle of qualified and understanding pupils.

These considerations, more especially the last described, might have led Clement to decline all literary ventures, and our knowledge of him might then have been no more extensive than the scanty information which has survived about Pantænus. Happily the question had two sides, and

[1] οἱ ὀρθοδοξασταὶ καλούμενοι, 343. They were the τινες ἀμαθῶς ψοφοδεεῖς and the φιλεγκλήμονες of 326–7. These are the ἀκεραιότεροι or "simpliciores quique" of Origen, *De Principiis*, iv. 2. See De Faye, *op. cit.* 137 *sqq.*

[2] 341.

Clement had owed so much himself to books that he could hardly fail to appreciate the possibilities of literary work in the Church's service. This, indeed, within certain limits, had been already realised. A Christian literature was already in existence, and though the Apostolic and sub-apostolic fathers were hardly likely to win many converts from Hellenism, more was to be said for the Apologists; and more still for the numerous writers whose works were occasioned by the recent rise of heresies, particularly of Gnosticism. Clement made reference to the *Shepherd of Hermas* to justify his own undertaking, for the mutilated quotation with which the *Stromateis* open is clearly an appeal to precedent and authority. He was also acquainted with the important works of Tatian, Melito, and Irenæus. Eusebius knew of many other authors who had written books before the *Stromateis* were published.

Thus, if Clement deserted the practice of the Elders, he was at least in harmony with the current habit of the times. The new departure lay not in the actual writing of a book, but in the scale and character of his purpose. Hitherto the Church's literary enterprise had been mainly of a defensive nature. The action of the State or the fanaticism of the crowd called forth the Apologies. The heresies gave rise to many a defence of catholic tradition, so far as this was fixed. Another literature was already forming itself around the Quartodeciman controversy. But for a positive exposition of Christian truth, challenging attention by its use of a secular method and meeting educated readers on ground that was their own, the time had not till now been ripe. Clement realised that the hour for this had come. In Alexandria, at any rate, believers were no longer occupied with the Millennium. Gnostic literature was serious, plentiful, and dangerous, and educated persons were at last beginning to come over in appreciable

numbers to Christianity. As against the suspicious multitude of the "simpliciores" were the interests of the thinking minority. The Church—it is possibly to her credit—has always been more tender in her care of the orthodox than in her solicitude for the anxious and unsettled. Clement elected to venture on the less usual course and to write, at the risk of being misinterpreted and criticised, a book which should meet the needs of intelligent and inquiring minds. He hopes to lead his readers into the higher domains of doctrine. He believes he will save some keen spirits from falling into the ways of heresy. He even contemplates the possible recovery for the Church of some who have wandered from the central paths of truth. His books may fall into wrong hands. If so, readers as well as writers have their responsibilities. He can only hope that, as a magnet draws only iron to itself,[1] so his written teaching may attract only those who can claim affinity with its character. It must depend on the reader's conscience ; just as even the Eucharist was often so administered that the laity could partake or not, as each should best determine for himself.[2]

On the preparation necessary for the study of higher doctrine he dwells with insistent reiteration. And for himself in his enterprise his standard is not less high. The poorer motives of the author, the desire of profit, the quest of reputation, the temper of the partisan, are all ruled out with a rigour and sincerity that are rare in the world of letters.[3] His one aim is the gain and enlightenment of his readers. He is "foncièrement pédagogue," even in his books, as De Faye remarks with complete justification.[4] So there is an unselfishness in his purpose which does Clement credit : when he wrote, as truly as when he lectured, his

[1] 996.

[2] 318.

[3] μὴ κέρδους ἕνεκα, μὴ κενοδοξίας χάριν, μὴ προσπαθείᾳ νικᾶσθαι, 320. A truly noble elimination !

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

main purpose was to hand on to others, who were able to receive them, the truths which he himself had been privileged to see and learn. The aim of religious literature has rarely been discussed from a higher standpoint than in the opening pages of the *Stromateis*. Clement's decision to write books and his whole conception of the responsibilities of the author, are a fine example of the Church's vocation to minister to intelligence, and a reminder, surely needed in our own time, that unsettled minds, who only hover on the fringe of her membership, are sometimes abundantly deserving of her thought and care.[1]

Such is the central motive of Clement's literary enterprise. There were also subsidiary considerations leading in the same direction. He was getting on in years, and writing would be an aid to memory. The tradition he had received would be more securely conserved in documents than by the living voice alone. If the atheism of Epicurus and the lampoons of Archilochus survived as literature, surely the same methods would not be denied to the herald of the truth. Moreover, books were the offspring of the mind, and to leave behind good offspring was admittedly a noble service to the future. He is keenly concerned to justify on every possible ground the rightful character of his task. And throughout, his appeal is always to good sense and solid reason. Apparently he has no fear of any official censure. There is no hint that he ever thought it possible that Bishop Demetrius would interfere. The Church controlled the School after the appointment of Origen, but not before.

The main interest of Clement's writings lies in the

[1] On the position and importance of Clement in the literary history of Christianity, see F. Overbeck's article, *Ueber die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur*, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1882, No. 48 (= N.F. 12), especially pp. 444 *sqq*.

broad lines of their interpretation of Christianity, in the light they throw upon its contact with other tendencies and forces, and in their revelation of his attractive and unusual personality. But their form, not only their content, deserves some consideration, and many questions of a purely literary order arise for all who attempt to acquaint themselves closely with his pages. In the last five and twenty years many competent writers have published books or treatises on Clement and his works. It is worthy of note that a large proportion of this recent literature of the subject is devoted to the discussion of the literary problems that are involved. Reference has already been made to the difficult question of Clement's indebtedness to sources and compilations previously existing. So far as his own writings are concerned, the most important points for consideration are the place of the *Stromateis* in his great tripartite scheme, the order in which his books were written, the aim and nature of some of the incompleted works that are assigned to him. These questions of literary form can to some extent be distinguished from those which concern the substance and content of his writings; yet the distinction is by no means absolute. What he intends to write largely determines the manner of his writing; personal characteristics colour and qualify his style; and his doctrine of reserve has extensive consequences of a literary nature. For convenience the line may be drawn, but it implies no real separation.

The word *Stromateis* has been happily rendered "carpet-bags."[1] Properly, they were the parti-coloured sacks in which blankets and bedding were stowed away. From their variegated appearance they gave the name to a particular class of literature, much in vogue during the

[1] See Hort and Mayor, *The Seventh Book of the Stromateis*, Introd., chap. i. "On the title Stromateis." "Carpet-bags" is from Bigg.

second century. A *locus classicus* on the subject is found in the preface to the *Noctes Atticæ* of Aulus Gellius, where the term stands in a list of titles together with *Amalthea's Horn*, *Honeycombs*, *Flower-beds*, and similar appellations, all used to denote works in which miscellaneous fragments from different sources and of various character were strung together in unrestricted diversity.[1] Plutarch wrote *Stromateis* of this order. So did Origen. Clement's most important surviving work was so entitled, and amply justified its name. It is not a form of literature which would obviously and naturally suggest itself to a writer who wished to set forth advanced Christian doctrine. The reasons which led Clement to select it so deliberately are curious and interesting.

No doubt he was conscious in using it that he had many various subjects to discuss. A "carpet-bag" is a convenient receptacle for a medley of unclassified articles, and Clement required a form of literature in which he could portray the ideal Gnostic, demonstrate the antiquity of Moses, introduce *bons mots* and occasional good stories, and give wise counsel on the subject of martyrdom. Tedious and irrelevant as his pages often are to the modern reader, they never betray any failure of interest on the part of the writer in his themes. His diversified learning, and his extraordinary delight in the most varied schemes of writing, found their wholly appropriate medium in this avowedly miscellaneous type of literature. He had many seeds to sow, not all of them of Apostolic origin.[2] The result of his husbandry is a "Meadow," a "Paradise," or even more truly a literary "thicket,"[3] where abstract ideas, timely quotations, apt and

[1] Such works are said to contain "variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam," a description singularly true in the case of Clement's work. *Noct. Att.*, Præfatio, 5 *sqq.*

[2] The doctrine of "the Fathers" he describes as τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ σπέρματα, 322–3.

[3] 736, *cf.* 901–2.

often amusing incidents, are found growing in profusion side by side.

To some extent Clement must have been conscious of the opportunity such a form of composition would give to his discursive genius. This, however, is not his main reason for selecting it. His choice is not so much determined by his personal bent as by the conditions of the public for whom he writes. In determining to risk the publication of his teaching in the form of a book, we have already seen that he gave precedence to the interests of an intelligent minority over the prejudices and dislike of the suspicious multitude of the believers. But, when the decision had been made, considerations of caution seem again to have possessed him, and partly in regard for simple brethren within the Church, partly, too, with the object of defending the faith from profanation by those who were without, he decides to publish his higher teaching only in a work of cryptic character. There is a long discussion, occupying a third of the Fifth Book of the *Stromateis*,[1] in which he cites instance after instance of such reserve in imparting doctrine. It was not only that the Lord Himself had chosen to teach in Parables. The veil of the Temple, the oracles of the Greeks, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the symbolism of the Old Testament, the Mysteries of Eleusis, the dark sayings of the Wise, all implied a protection from the common multitude of the secrets revealed and intelligible to the few. Such signs and tokens had their full meaning only for those who could apprehend it. So he thinks it may be possible to scatter seeds of doctrine here and there throughout his pages, in such a fashion that only the wise reader shall discern their true significance. The genuine and patient seeker shall find truth: the quest is to be intentionally difficult, so that the merely inquisitive and

[1] 656–86.

the uninstructed may be repelled and kept away. It was a curious and unusual project. We may doubt the entire success of his method for its purpose. No Christian who could read, and either possessed or borrowed a copy of the *Stromateis*, would remain ignorant of Clement's views on Philosophy, Gnosticism, and allegorical exegesis. Still, he was not, so far as we know, actually accused of heresy until a later date, and there is certainly no lack of passages in his writings in which his meaning and the connection of thought are extremely difficult to discover. *μετὰ ἱδρῶτος ἡ ζήτησις γενήσεται.*[1] The modern reader has frequent reason to allow that this intention was fulfilled.

Later writers on the *Stromateis* have not rested content with this account of their character and purpose, as the author gave it. In particular, De Faye believes that they evidence a more serious change in Clement's scheme than the mere employment of the cryptic method would involve. He points out that in the *Pædagogus* Clement speaks in several places of "the Master" (*Διδάσκαλος*), as though this was to be the title of the third portion of his work. After conversion, which is the office of the "protreptic" Word, after moral training, which is in the charge of the Pædagogue, comes higher teaching, knowledge, initiation into Christian truth, and this the "Master" must impart. "And now," he writes, in the closing chapter of the *Pædagogus*, "it is time for me to bring this earlier instruction (*παιδαγωγία*) to an end and for you to listen to the Master."[2] But what follows is, as we know, not a doctrinal work so entitled, but the long drawn miscellany of the *Stromateis*. Even in the Seventh Book the consideration of doctrine is still postponed to "the appropriate season"; in its concluding chapter his project is still regarded as ahead and unattained, and the

[1] 736. [2] 309.

reader is surprised by the promise of a new start in the very closing sentence of the book.[1]

On this and similar evidence it is argued that the *Stromateis* cannot be the promised Διδάσκαλος. They are rather a work preliminary to the discussion of doctrine, which Clement found necessary, mainly on the grounds of his readers susceptibilities, to insert between the *Pædagogus* and the crowning section of his scheme. When the *Stromateis*, as we possess them, come to an end, they have removed many difficulties and cleared the way, but their purpose has only been preparatory, and the long-expected "Master" was destined to remain an unaccomplished project. Such, in outline, is De Faye's interesting solution of this difficult literary question. His interpretation is maintained with great command of the evidence, and with all the clearness of statement for which the best French theological writing is ever remarkable.

But it has not passed unchallenged. The most serious criticism is that of C. Heussi,[2] who argues that the *Stromateis are* the "Master," and contends that no direct statements of Clement prove them to be merely preliminary; that they do not prepare for the "Gnosis," but rather impart it; and that many expressions of the writer prove them to be the crowning work, to which the opening chapter of the *Pædagogus* looks forward. To these considerations is added the assertion that the first four books of the *Stromateis* must have been written before the *Pædagogus*, since the latter work refers to an already published discussion on marriage,[3] which can be none other than that contained in *Stromateis* II. and III. This last contention, if it could be

[1] 867, 901–2.

[2] See the important article of this writer, *Die Stromateis des Clemens Alexandrinus und ihr Verhältnis zum Protrepticos und Pædagogos*, Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, Bd. xlv. 1902, pp. 465 *sqq*.

[3] 278, γαμικὸς λόγος.

supported by conclusive evidence, would indeed render De Faye's interpretation untenable, though it would also raise fresh difficulties, if indeed it did not throw the whole problem of Clement's writings into an inextricable confusion. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are, however, scarcely sufficient to render it a substantial conclusion. The discussion on marriage may have been a lost work of which the fragment quoted in Stählin's edition is all that now survives.[1] Or Clement may have incorporated a previously written monograph in his later work; or possibly the *Pædagogus* may have been revised after the *Stromateis* were written, and the references to the discussion on marriage introduced. On the whole it may be said that there is no sufficient reason to suppose that Clement's great Trilogy was composed in any other order than that in which we possess it.

De Faye seems, then, to have proved that Clement intended to call the third portion of his work *The Master*, and to have also made clear the fact that at the end of the *Stromateis* his main purpose still remains unaccomplished. What is really open to question is the supposition that Clement himself regarded the *Stromateis*, from the first, as a preparatory undertaking and no more. It is difficult to see why he should have introduced a work, merely preliminary, with so serious a preface as stands at the opening of the *Stromateis*. Its whole tone implies that he is on the threshold of his most important task. Moreover, his method of concealing truth, which is sufficiently appropriate on the supposition that he wishes his meaning to be intelligible only to those who have the key of knowledge, would be wholly out of place in a work whose purpose was to remove popular objections. If Clement had intended the *Stromateis* to remove the suspicions of the uneducated, he would

[1] iii. 228.

naturally have written as plainly as he did in the *Protrepticus*, and invited the attention of every Christian who could read.

A more serious and conclusive consideration is that Clement's language frequently implies that the *Stromateis* do contain, in scattered and fragmentary form, the higher teaching to which the earlier work looks forward. Heussi's quotations seem to show beyond question that the central purpose of the *Stromateis* was doctrinal, however imperfectly this may have been realised. The reader is reminded, in the words of Heraclitus, that we must dig through much earth in order to find a little gold, and that a medley of many seeds must be well shaken in the sieve if we wish to select the wheat.[1] This "gold" and "wheat" can only be identified with those pearls of truth which must not be cast before swine. The author's language here and in many other passages is only intelligible if we suppose that he regarded himself as imparting, in the cryptic method he had selected, that very teaching which was to be the perfect Christian's treasured prize. That this is done secretly, partially, imperfectly; that after the lesser Mysteries initiation into the greater still awaits the reader; that the writer never comes within even tolerable distance of his eventual goal, must be certainly allowed. The *Stromateis* do not accomplish the task of the promised "Master." But neither, on the other hand, is their character purely preliminary. They undertake and commence what it proved beyond the time or power of the writer to accomplish.

In short, Clement started on his enterprise without realising its magnitude and difficulty. It is impossible here to describe in any detail the character of the esoteric teaching[2] he proposed to embody in his completed work, not only because he did not live to accomplish the embodiment, but

[1] 565-6.

[2] Chapters xiv. and xix. give some little further information on this point.

also because he had never clearly grasped in all its implications the character of his own great purpose. He hopes to advance from a consideration of the genesis of the Cosmos to the contemplation of a reality more ultimate and less material; his purpose is to rise from Cosmogony to Theology.[1] Thus his philosophy of religion is to lead at last to the Ruler of the Universe, "an object difficult to apprehend and capture, ever receding and withdrawing into the distance from him who follows in pursuit."[2] In the important opening chapter of the Fourth Book, where he has set forth his ultimate purpose as clearly as anywhere, he expresses himself with grave hesitation as to its fulfilment. The work will be written, "if God will, and as He may inspire me." Again and again, as he has occasion to refer to this crowning and unachieved portion of his task, his language grows vague, and the implications of his terminology are less assured, and we have hints of a mighty purpose, for which the range of his faculties is hardly adequate. What Clement intended to portray in language can hardly have been anything different from the final vision of the Gnostic soul. For one who has reached this stage, perfect understanding contemplates objects superior to the Cosmos and purely intellectual in their nature, and even moves on to other realms more spiritual still than these. The goal is the conclusive grasp of all reality; the uninterrupted vision of pure Being by the purified intelligence. Now Clement is a true Hellene. He never passes from the intellectual standpoint to mystic rapture. He has his face set towards this transcendent consummation, but he never draws the veil to admit his reader within the shrine. Much as he says about contemplation, the features of the object contemplated are never made manifest in his pages. The truth is, as the mystics knew,

[1] 325, *cp.* 564.

[2] 431. For the thought see Plato, *Timæus*, 51; Philo, *De Somniis*, i. 11.

that the Beatific Vision lies beyond language ; the Prophet's ecstasy, or the symbolism of Art, are less inadequate methods for apprehending the ultimate realities of the Spirit than the cold, clear light of the intelligence.

Thus the fact that Clement chose to write a series of *Stromateis* in the place of the projected "Master" must in the main be set down to the character of his public. But that having chosen this type of literature for his medium, he remains, after seven considerable volumes have been written, still so remote from the final achievement of his task, is due to the range and magnitude, and still more to the transcendental character, of his undertaking. The repeated and varied plans for future writing ; the constant falling back for further discussion upon already considered themes ; the apologetic references to the number of preliminary subjects with which he finds it necessary to deal, all evidence a hesitation on the writer's part in approaching the more advanced portions of his subject which is entirely natural when we realise how wide the range of truth, how elevated the point of vision, to which he had originally hoped to show the way. In a word, the *Stromateis* are and yet are not the projected "Master." In writing them Clement realised, in part, his purpose of higher teaching. In writing them he also came to recognise that his purpose could never be fully realised at all. J. von Arnim[1] has suggested that Clement was prevented by death from bringing his undertaking to fulfilment. There are difficulties in this suggestion. Is it not at least possible that the *Stromateis* are left unfinished, because Clement became increasingly conscious that the portrayal of complete and final truth lies beyond the achievement of any single human mind ?

Clement's activity as a writer was in any case not limited to the great tripartite work, of which the *Stromateis* are the

[1] *De octavo Clementis Stromateorum libro*, pp. 7, 13.

most important section. In all we hear of some twenty treatises which may claim his authorship, though with different degrees of evidence. Beyond the trilogy, only one, the *Quis Dives Salvetur*, has survived intact. Others are known to have existed from mention made of them in ancient authors and from fragments which have been preserved. The earliest evidence for others is as late as the seventh century. With regard to some four or five, while Clement's intention to write on these subjects is clear, we are wholly ignorant as to whether his plans were ever carried into effect. To these considerable uncertainties must be added the further doubt as to the independent character of some of these undertakings. The mention, for example, of a "Discussion on Marriage" may, as we have remarked, equally well refer to the Third Book of the *Stromateis* or to a distinct and separate treatise. The whole subject of these fragmentary remains has been very fully dealt with by Zahn in his *Supplementum Clementinum*. For our present purpose it will only be necessary to consider briefly the character and contents of these other writings of our author. Something may also be said on the difficult question of the order of their composition.

Clement's written works appear to have fallen into four classes, when distributed according to the nature of their subject-matter. (1) Some dealt with the Scriptures. (2) Some were controversial. (3) Some again were concerned with the philosophy of doctrine. (4) The fourth class was pastoral in character. Such a division is naturally only tentative. The evidence is in many cases too scanty for certainty, while a book on the Scriptures must clearly to some extent involve doctrine also. But a consideration of his literary work on the lines of this division will at least give some idea of its varied character, and help to dissipate the common misconception of Clement as merely an

academic Christian, a second-century professor with few interests outside his library.

(1) The most extensive work on the Scriptures for which Clement was responsible was the *Hypotyposeis* or *Outlines*. There were eight books of this commentary, so that it was as long as the *Stromateis*. Eusebius [1] was familiar with it and quoted it, and so was Photius,[2] who lived in the ninth century and thought the work heretical. The editions [3] give between twenty and thirty fragments of this work in Greek, and there are some longer extracts, from the portion which dealt with the Catholic Epistles, still extant in a Latin translation. The commentary was not a complete one: it only dealt with "certain passages," [4] but apparently no book in either the Old or New Testament was entirely omitted. In many cases the notes are little more than "Scholia"; sometimes also they are of considerable interest, as in their reference to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Saint Luke is said to have translated from a Hebrew original written by Saint Paul; or in their mention of the origin of the fourth or "spiritual" Gospel; or in their statement that Saint John's second Epistle was addressed to a "Babylonian" lady, by name Eclecta. Zahn has reconstructed [5] the table of their probable contents. The surviving fragments are sufficient to afford us many hints on Clement's views of Holy Scripture. They are in this respect a valuable supplement to his more completely extant works. Evidently the work covered too much ground, but it is interesting to know that the master of Origen undertook such a task. Next to the *Stromateis* it was probably Clement's most extensive and important book.

It is possible, too, that Clement treated certain parts of

[1] H.E., ii. 9; vi. 14. [2] *Bibl. Cod.*, 109 *sqq.*
[3] Stählin, iii. 195 *sqq.*; Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, 64 *sqq.*
[4] περὶ ῥητῶν τινων, Photius, *loc. cit.* [5] *Op. cit.*, 156.

Scripture more fully in separate writings. Mention, at any rate, is made of a Commentary on the Prophet Amos,[1] which was apparently distinct from the *Hypotyposeis*. Eusebius also states that Clement promised in the *Stromateis* to compose a separate work on the Book of Genesis. It is not known whether this was ever accomplished, and even the intention of Clement is doubtful, for Eusebius may have misinterpreted his meaning.[2] Besides these, we have several mentions in the *Stromateis* of a projected discussion on "Prophecy."[3] This may refer to an intended work on the prophetical books of the Old Testament, or to a treatise on the nature of inspiration, or to some more controversial purpose of dealing with Montanism. There is no reason to suppose that any separate work under this name was ever published by Clement. It is well known that he did not carry out all his plans. It is, however, sufficiently clear that a considerable portion of his literary work, whether accomplished or only projected, had the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures definitely in view. That so much of this has perished is, in the main, due to the fact that greater commentators came after him. In this, as in so many other respects, he was a pioneer, memorable not so much by what he actually achieved as by his recognition of the importance, for the Church's highest interests, of the domain of commentary and exegesis.[4]

(2) A second class of Clement's writings had a controversial purpose. These do not appear to have been numerous, and Clement, though he often opposes Gnostic teaching in the *Stromateis*, cared little for controversy on its own account. Towards the end of his stay in Alexandria

[1] Zahn, *op. cit.*, 45. The authority is the *Lausiac History* of Palladius (c. A.D. 420).

[2] Zahn, *loc. cit.*

[3] 416, 605, 699.

[4] On Clement's relation to Scripture see *infra*, chap. xvii., xviii.

the Paschal question again came into prominence, and Alexandria sided with Pope Victor against Polycrates and the Quartodecimans of Asia Minor.[1] It seems that Clement was urged by his friends to deal with this debated issue, and his treatise *On the Passover* was mainly directed against an earlier book written by the saintly Quartodeciman, Melito of Sardis.[2] It is clear from a surviving fragment that he adhered to the dates of the Fourth Gospel, as against the Synoptists, and held the Crucifixion, not the Last Supper, to have taken place on the 14th Nisan.[3] The few other quotations we still possess seem to show that, as might be expected, Clement did not confine his argument to historical evidence. More abstract lines of reasoning were evidently employed as well. Possibly they did not greatly contribute to the settlement of a question which was determined in the long run by authority and the growth of uniformity, rather than by *a priori* considerations. But it is significant that even the philosophic Clement was drawn into a discussion of this character. "Ye observe days," wrote Saint Paul reprovingly; yet in such minor issues, when they arise, even the leaders must take their part, and masters of doctrine may not altogether stand aside. Besides, Alexandria had a special interest in points of chronology and the calendar.

A second work of this class was known as the *Canon Ecclesiasticus*,[4] the alternative title showing that it was written to oppose the "Judaisers," though with what particular portion of their tenets it was concerned the evidence does not enable us to say. Possibly this also was a criticism of the Quartodeciman position. Or, possibly, as the one extant fragment might suggest, the "Judaisers" desired to enforce

[1] *Supra*, p. 110 *sqq*. [2] H.E., iv. 26; vi. 13; *cp*. v. 24.
[3] τῇ ιδ', ὅτε καὶ ἔπαθεν. Stählin, iii. 217. Zahn, *op. cit*., 33.
[4] H.E., vi. 13.

the literal interpretation of Scripture,[1] and, if that were so, it is quite probable that for once Clement found the task of controversial authorship congenial. An interesting point in connection with this work is that it was dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, an old pupil and friend of Clement's. No other works of Clement are known to us of a clearly controversial character.

(3) From his interest in the philosophy of Christian doctrine Clement might have been expected to devote much of his literary activity to its consideration. Yet there is no class of his writings in which the evidence is more uncertain, when once we pass beyond the range of his actually existing works. The *Stromateis* we possess. And it would be natural to class with them the works *On the Soul*, *On the Resurrection*, *On the Angels*, *On Principles*, *On Providence*,[2] supposing these, or any of them, ever to have been written. He intended to write on the Soul and to deal with the Pythagoreans and the doctrine of Transmigration. He intended also to discuss the Lord's Resurrection, and to deal with passages of Scripture in which the general doctrine of the subject is allegorically taught. So, too, he proposed to write about the Angels. Their importance in Gnostic systems would alone have made this a natural plan. But whether any one of these intentions was ever carried out, we cannot determine. No fragments survive which can with any strong probability be assigned to these proposed discussions on the Soul and on the Angels. Of the treatise *On Providence* several fragments have been preserved, but none of the references or quotations are anterior to the seventh century. If the fragments are

[1] The title, Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, supports this supposition. See *infra*, p. 204.

[2] The first four of these are mentioned by Clement himself: 125, 232, 564, 699, 755, 950. The fragments of the work Περὶ προνοίας are given in Stählin, iii. 219. Zahn, *op. cit.*, 39.

genuine, this work seems to have been mainly concerned with the definition of theological terms : it consisted of at least two books, and must have been useful to students of theology. Clement's authorship of it is questionable. Zahn is on the whole disposed to accept it. Stählin is more doubtful.

Finally, there is the work *On Principles*. He proposed a treatise of this kind in the *Stromateis*. And there is some reason to suppose that this was actually written, from the apparent reference to it as already existing, which he makes in the *Quis Dives Salvetur*. Von Arnim[1] has questioned this interpretation of the passage in the last-named work, and it must in any case seem doubtful whether Clement would have gone on to deal with "Principles," if the *Stromateis* were still incomplete. Here, again, nothing can be definitely proved. Thus in the domain of doctrinal philosophy, where Clement might have been expected to write most readily when he had once determined on writing books at all, we are left with nothing beyond the *Stromateis*. The other works mentioned may possibly have existed, but in no case is the evidence more than doubtful. On the whole it is probable that, when Clement found the completion of his great undertaking was beyond his powers, he did not again deal with subjects of this order.

(4) When we come to writings of a pastoral character our information is fuller and more substantial. The office of a teacher may be said to lie midway between the domain of pure theology and that of pastoral care. Clement at any rate managed to combine his special interest in doctrine with no inconsiderable activity in the care of souls. The *Pædagogus*, of course, is concerned with the education of the Christian character ; and we breathe as it were the atmosphere of the parish rather than of the lecture-room in his

[1] *Op. cit.*, 13. See, however, Appendix II. of the present work.

one extant sermon, the *Quis Dives Salvetur*. Eusebius[1] knew of two homilies, one *On Slander*, the other *On Fasting*. An *Address to the Newly Baptised*, exhorting to patience, is mentioned by the same writer ; and Clement himself speaks of a treatise *On Continency*, no doubt identical with the *Discussion on Marriage*, to which he refers in the *Pædagogus*.[2] This, as we have seen, is regarded by many authorities as no independent work, but rather that portion of the *Stromateis*[3] in which he deals with the relation of the sexes, and which may have been separately written before the *Stromateis* were commenced. The only evidence, beyond Clement's own statement, is a fragment quoted in the *Sacra Parallela*,[4] which has been wrongly assigned to the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis*, and does not occur in the earlier portions which deal with marriage. This would be naturally assigned to the independent book *On Continency*, if that existed. Zahn[5] inclines to believe that such a book was written by Clement. Stählin[6] follows Wendland and Heussi in regarding the discussion in the *Stromateis* as being the author's only treatment of this subject. If that is so, this portion of his work hardly falls under the head of "Pastoralia," but we are still left with the four sermons.

A fragment recently discovered by the Rev. P. M. Barnard[7] has been assigned to the *Address to the Newly Baptised*. This fragment may well be an extremely interesting summary of Clement's teaching, but it is difficult, on grounds of style, to regard it as actually coming from his pen. Of the homilies on Slander and Fasting there are no remains. The interest of this portion of Clement's work is the hint it gives us of a period in his career when he was actively engaged in the building up of Christian character. It seems

[1] H.E., vi. 13.
[2] 278, *cp.* 199, 226.
[3] 502–62.
[4] Stählin, iii. 228.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37 *sqq.*
[6] III., lxiii., lxx. 228.
[7] *Ib.*, p. 221.

to imply that the teacher of Gnosis and mystery could also deal sympathetically with the minor difficulties of a recent convert. Our slight but suggestive knowledge of this part of Clement's activity may well be connected with the mention of him, already noticed, in Alexander's letter to the Church of Antioch.[1] It accords well with the statement that he had established and increased the flock that was under Alexander's care.

This survey of Clement's literary work would not be complete without some mention of three longer fragments, which are usually attributed to him on the evidence of the manuscripts, but which are extremely puzzling to the critics because of the character of their contents. Of these the first is the so-called Eighth Book of the *Stromateis*. It differs widely from the earlier books, consisting of discussions on logic, such subjects as definition, causality, suspense of judgment being treated, evidently in an incomplete fashion. This is followed by the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, which the title helps us further to define as a sort of summary or epitome of a phase of teaching recognised as Eastern, and claiming the authority of Valentinus. The extracts are Gnostic in character, with comments added, though the line of separation between the Gnostic teaching and the remarks of the commentator is difficult indeed to draw. Several passages of Scripture are explained, and the heretical terminology is much employed. Finally, these *Excerpta* are followed by the *Eclogæ Propheticæ*, which contain fragments of exegesis, one or two interesting mentions of the Elders, and a continuous exposition of the Nineteenth Psalm, which might well have come from the *Hypotyposeis*.

Of these strange and fragmentary relics what can be made? It is Zahn's[2] theory that they are extracts, made by some person other than Clement, from the previously com-

[1] *Supra*, p. 24.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 104 *sqq.*

pleted Eighth Book of the *Stromateis*. This suggestion has not been generally accepted. It is difficult to believe that even Clement would have united material so heterogeneous as the so-called *Strom.* VIII. and the *Excerpta* in one division of his work. Moreover, the whole series of the extracts would have amounted to at least half the book, and there is no apparent reason in the subject matter for the selection having been made at all. And the title of the second portion, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, does not harmonise with Zahn's interpretation.

A later theory, suggested in its original form by P. Ruben,[1] adopted and enlarged by von Arnim, and accepted by De Faye, sees in these three different fragments the preparatory notes of Clement for other books which we do not possess.[2] For the full discussion of the whole question the reader must refer to the authorities named above. The balance of probability lies strongly with the more recent suggestion. Clement may well have made notes and extracts from writings with which he did not himself agree. Perhaps there is here an effective answer to those critics of his literary work, who see in him little more than a clever thief of other men's labours. Not as a rule of special interest in themselves, these extracts are still eloquent in their evidence of Clement's laborious thoroughness and of his resolve to understand what others had written, even when it was impossible that he himself should adopt their point of view.

[1] *Clem. Al. Exc. ex Theod. Dissertatio philologica*, Leipzig, 1892.

[2] *Op. cit.* Von Arnim rightly points out that on this hypothesis *Strom.* VIII., the *Excerpta*, and the *Eclogæ* would all possess a similar character, being extracts from other writings made by Clement in preparation for another work: "una eademque simplici ratione explicatam habebitis trium illorum quæ Stromateum VII. secuntur corporum conformationem," p. 9. See De Faye, pp. 332–3; also C. Barth, *Die Interpretation des neuen Testaments in der Valentinianischen Gnosis* (Texte und Untersuchungen, R. III., Bd. vii.), p. 1: where the *Excerpta* are said to have been put together, "wohl zu künftiger Verarbeitung für eine Streitschrift."

Such was the extent and character of Clement's literary work, so far as this may be gathered from the books we possess, and from the scattered fragments and references, which point to others that have not survived. Both in the amount of the work accomplished and in the variety of the subjects on which he wrote, his range of authorship was clearly considerable. It remains to make some reference to the interesting and difficult question of the date and order of his different works.

The evidence on this point is neither abundant nor decisive. Eusebius[1] reckons him among the ecclesiastical writers whose works taught the divinity of Christ before Victor became Bishop of Rome in A.D. 189. If this statement be accepted, Clement was engaged in writing more than twelve years before he left Alexandria. He probably never wholly abandoned work of this character; and this latter supposition, sufficiently probable in itself, is borne out by the dedication of his *Canon Ecclesiasticus* to Bishop Alexander. The Bishop, as we have seen, was Clement's pupil, born, Zahn thinks, about A.D. 170.[2] He became Bishop of Jerusalem after A.D. 211, and appears already to have held this position when the above-named work of Clement was written. Thus there is roughly a period of five and twenty years during which Clement was at least partially occupied in literary work, and it may be inferred from the statement of Eusebius' *Chronicle*,[3] A.D. 204, "Clemens multa et varia conscribit," that his years of greatest activity as a writer were immediately after his departure from Alexandria.

Is it possible, within these limits, to assign more precise dates for the writing of his various books?[4] The most interesting item in such an inquiry arises in connection with

[1] H.E., v. 28.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 171, "spätestens um 170."
[3] Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, xix. 568.
[4] On this subject see also Appendix II.

the *Stromateis*. Were they written in Alexandria? or were they his latest undertaking, cut short, while still unrevised, by the rude hand of death? Von Arnim[1] and De Faye[2] hold the latter theory. Zahn[3] and Mayor[4] believe other writings followed them. Harnack[5] regards the *Stromateis* as commenced in Alexandria, then interrupted by the writing of the *Pædagogus*, and continued after Clement had fled before the persecution of Severus. Thus there is a choice of views, and the evidence is very inconclusive. The opening chapter of the *Stromateis* would tend to show that this was Clement's earliest published work. Yet the mention of the death of Commodus[6] clearly places Book I. later than A.D. 192. The references to persecution and martyrdom[7] have been held to suggest the years A.D. 202–3. But the character of the writing, and the entire lack of direct evidence, make the interruption of their composition, either by the writing of the *Pædagogus*, or by Clement's flight from Alexandria, at least improbable. Even with a writer as little interested in concrete facts as Clement, so violent a break in his career, the sudden exile from libraries, and the enforced change from an environment made familiar by twenty years' residence, could hardly fail to have left some trace, had they occurred while the writing of the *Stromateis* was still in process. Moreover, the same suspicious readers whom he had so much in mind when he began writing, are still considered in the Seventh Book,[8] and the quotations and references in the later portions of the work seem to imply that Clement was still within reach of libraries when he wrote them.

It may be frankly admitted that no theory fits all the facts. Somewhere or other each possibility does violence

[1] *Op. cit.*, 7, 13. [2] P. 120. [3] Pp. 173 *sqq.* [4] xviii.–xix.
[5] *Geschichte der altchr. Lit.*, II. (ii.), 9 *sqq.* [6] 402–3.
[7] 494, etc. See also Appendix I. [8] 829, 894.

to the evidence. It is not possible to prove, but it is legitimate to suppose, that Clement wrote the *Stromateis* in Alexandria and was cut short by the persecution under Severus in his task. Mainly through recognising the difficulty or impossibility of completing his ambitious scheme, yet partly also because his lot was now cast among a less intellectual public, and partly, it may be, in the hope that he would one day return to his old literary surroundings, he was led first to postpone, and then ultimately to abandon, the great project to which he had set his hand. He turned his attention instead to the exposition of Scripture, to controversy, above all to Pastoralia. So we have, subsequent to the *Stromateis*, the *Outlines*, the tract *Against Judaisers*, the *Address to the Newly Baptised* and that *On Slander*. The "multa *et varia*" of the Eusebian Chronicle gives some support to such a dating of his books. And the difficulties involved are perhaps not greater than those which arise on the theories of von Arnim or of Harnack. If there is a certain element of pathos in the abandonment by Clement in his later years of his great projected scheme, there is also a noble and heroic self-adaptation in his undertaking of lesser tasks, which served their purpose, even though the Christian world has not thought it worth while to preserve more than scanty fragments of their total length. Many men, since the days of good King David, have done useful service, even after they have come to realise that they will never erect the perfect temple of their dreams.

It is difficult to say much in praise of Clement's style from the purely literary point of view. His aims, his ideas, his range of knowledge, deserved indeed a more artistic and graceful medium of expression than the long and involved sentences, the unbalanced diffuseness, the defective taste, which characterise much that he has written. Several causes, no doubt, contributed to this result. The

habit of oral instruction, in which he had been occupied for several years before he began to write, would militate against terseness and lucid accuracy of writing. We have already seen how conscious Clement was that the two methods demanded different gifts. His convictions are usually definite, when we reach them, but while his mind moves on the surface of a subject, there is often some lack of clear conception, and this at times is discernible in his style.

But, in addition to this, he disregards style from deliberate intention.[1] It is for him the antithesis of facts and truth. It may please, but it does not profit or instruct. He shares and expresses here the common prejudice of the earlier Christians against Literature and Art as such. That he wrote at all needed some apology: he regards it as almost a virtue to write, if he must write, in any indifferent terminology that occurs and will serve his purpose. If Pantænus were indeed the author of the beautiful *Epistle to Diognetus*,[2] we could wish he had imparted his own power of graceful writing to his pupil, for Clement's disregard of style, however justifiable, has had troublesome consequences for his readers, and has doubtless diminished the influence and popularity of his books.

There is, besides, the further consideration that his purpose to hide the truths he taught from the uninitiated has naturally rendered him obscure, and made doubly doubtful the intention of much that he has written. These causes have contributed to rob his great undertaking of literary attractiveness. It can only be regretted that Clement, who saw so clearly in many other respects how the secular world could minister to faith, did not go on to claim something of Plato's style, as well as of Plato's thought, for the enrichment of his comprehensive task.

[1] See, *e.g.*, 344, 902: *οὔ μοι τῆς λεξιθηρίας μέλει*, 125.

[2] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Ed. Harmer, suggests this, p. 488.

At times, indeed, he rises above his own principles and his normal level. He is "warmed by the Word,"[1] and when he speaks of the appeal of the Saviour to humanity, or of the wide and disastrous consequences of fair Helen's beauty,[2] or of the higher communion of the Gnostic life, his very subjects give him inspiration and his words have a new life and a closer precision, and we feel that there are other qualities in his nature, which happier literary conditions and ideals might have developed into a greater lucidity and a more perfect grace of words. As it was, he regarded with suspicion some of the best arts of the writer and never sought to acquire their mastery. It should be added that the *Stromateis* were in all probability never revised.

Our principal authority for the text of the *Protrepticus* and of the *Pædagogus* is a manuscript[3] of the tenth century, now in the National Library in Paris (Paris, Græc., 451, usually referred to as "P"). There are some sixteen other MSS. of these books, but none of them is regarded as independent of P. For the *Stromateis* the authority is a manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Laurentian library in Florence (Laur., V. 3, usually referred to as "L"), of which a sixteenth-century copy exists in Paris. The quotations in Eusebius and other writers are of some service for textual purposes, but it cannot be said, in regard at any rate to the *Stromateis*, that the text of Clement has come down to us in a satisfactory condition. In 1715, John Potter, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and afterwards Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury, published an important edition of Clement. It was a work of very real learning, and many of Potter's notes

[1] 263. [2] 259–60.

[3] Facsimiles are given in Stählin's edition, vol. iii., *ad fin.*, and also at the commencement of this chapter.

are still valuable. Dindorf's edition of 1869 was disappointing, but Dr Stählin, in the edition issued under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Science, has at length given Clement's works to the world in as completely satisfactory a form as the conditions allow. All who feel any serious interest in the old Alexandrine master must welcome with real and merited gratitude the outcome of Dr Stählin's labours. Could Clement but have foreseen that his *ὑπομνήματα* would one day be thus worthily presented to the Christian students of an age not wholly dissimilar from his own!

CHAPTER VII

AN APPEAL TO THE EDUCATED

CLEMENT cannot have worked for long in Alexandria without being conscious that he might be of special service to men and women of a particular type. This type or class may be most briefly defined as consisting of persons of Greek culture, who were not wholly satisfied with Paganism. They felt the claim and the hold of the ancient traditions. They were not unconscious that both from philosophy and from the mysteries a large measure of guidance and spiritual assurance might be gained. They were sufficiently sincere to be troubled, rather than amused, by the abundant ridicule that had been poured upon the old mythology. But they were at rest neither in mind nor soul. They passed from one lecture-room to another, as Justin had done, with a growing dissatisfaction, welcoming and debating each fresh theory of life they heard propounded, but adopting and retaining none. They had not infrequently come into contact with Christians. They had heard undoubtedly many strange tales of this remarkable people. Sometimes they felt, at a distance, the beauty and attraction of the new religion, much as Pater's *Marius* felt them, with the difference that they were Greeks and he a Roman. But they only knew vaguely and indistinctly what Christianity had to offer, and no sufficient reason had yet been given them for leaving the old ways and committing them-

selves to this obscure track, which hitherto had been commonly avoided by the educated.

Such people were found in every centre of intellectual life : they were nowhere more numerous than in Alexandria. It is to them that Clement's *Protrepticus* is addressed. The book contains the substance of arguments he must have frequently employed in his oral teaching ; indeed, it is addressed to hearers rather than to readers throughout.[1] From a literary point of view it is the best of Clement's surviving writings. It is interesting, as showing the kind of reasoning and guidance which led men from Paganism to the Church. It is probable, too, that an element of autobiography may be discerned in its pages, and that Clement reproduces in his appeal to others much that had found place in his own personal experience. He offers to guide men of his own type along a pathway with whose stages he was familiar, along which he himself, not so many years before, had found satisfaction, rest, and light. The book is a summons to salvation, as Clement understood salvation. It would hardly have converted a convinced pagan of the type of Celsus or Cæcilius, but it may well have enabled many of the unsettled to take the decisive step. Let us consider the features of this appeal.

The opening passage[2] is a reference to the ancient masters of song and melody, Amphion, Arion, and Orpheus ; to which is added the pretty tale of the grasshopper, whose chirp, one hot summer festival, supplied the note of a broken lyre-string to Eunomus, the Locrian minstrel. In place of such legends Christianity offers a higher music, the eternal strain of the new harmony, bidding men leave the antiquated mountains, Helicon and Cithæron, to find a better habitation on the heights of the spiritual Sion.

[1] The language shows this : *τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν*, 24 ; *ἀκοῦσαι*, 66 ; *cp.* 76–7.

[2] 1–10.

Those ancient bards were men of trickery, and their music brought men into bondage. But the new music is a song of spiritual freedom, and tames and restores humanity more effectively than Orpheus and Arion tamed the beasts. "We, too," Clement cries, in a strain of personal reminiscence, "were once senseless, faithless, and astray, the slaves of pleasure and of passion." But he had heard this new melody, and life had been given to those who once were dead. This music of Heaven and of the Word is nothing less than the harmony of the universe, expressing itself through the great external Cosmos and through man, the microcosm, who is at once the flute and lyre and shrine and chosen instrument of God.

Clement had spoken of Christianity as a new melody, but he corrects himself. It is not new, as men may speak of a new house, but only in the sense that God's purpose had been recently manifested in Christianity. For the divine purpose itself was indeed older than the world, and Christians, as pre-existing in this purpose, could claim a higher antiquity than Arcady or Egypt. This is the new melody, the Epiphany of the Word, which was in the beginning, and is now made manifest, as the source of salvation and of life. Man is summoned by God to partake in this salvation: how strange that he should hesitate and delay! The light of truth and the vision of God are offered us, and the doorway through which we pass to the sight of these new mysteries is none other than the Christ.

From this noble prelude Clement passes to a criticism of Paganism.[1] He deals point by point with all those elements in the old religion, which had for long presented such insuperable difficulty to its more thoughtful adherents. Dead and bygone are the springs of divination and the antiquated shrines. The mysteries need only to be drawn into the

[1] 10–36.

light of day for their absurdities and obscenities to become self-evident. Their impure symbolism, the ridiculous language of their ritual, the barbarities which make them seem little better than burials and bloodshed, unclean stories like that of Demeter at Eleusis, better hidden in night and darkness than revealed by the blaze of torches and the hierophant's sacred flame, are all set forth with a profusion of detail hardly needful or welcome to the modern reader, perhaps more convincing to the ancient by the very insistence and fulness of its statement. Clement recalls with evident satisfaction the story of the Scythian king, who put one of his subjects to death for introducing into the country the worship of the Mother of the gods; and also the advice of a famous "atheist" to the Egyptians, that, if they believed in their gods, they should not bewail them, or, if they bewailed them, they should no longer regard them as divine. To these he adds the tale of the notorious Diagoras, who threw a wooden figure of Hercules into the fire and bid the god cook his meat, as a thirteenth labour. "Let us keep clear," he says, "of the extremes of Atheism and Superstition."

And then he passes on to enumerate, much as a later student of comparative religion might do, seven traditional "Origins" for the gods. These range from the starry heavens to the deification of benefactors. They are "slippery and dangerous perversions of the truth, dragging man down from heaven." To persuade men to return thither and cease their wanderings, is the whole purpose of his exposition of the follies of the pagan creed. These follies were sufficiently plentiful, and Clement was at home in the literature of the subject. The numerous company of the Olympians included many Apollos, many Hermes; Hephæstus was only a smith, Æsculapius a grasping doctor. The Muses, to whom Alexandria and other cities dedicated

their museums, were just women with good voices. From Zeus downwards all the gods were immoral, and the goddesses were no better than the gods. So, with a reference to Homer's theophanies, and a reminder that gods who could undergo wounds and slavery must be more human than divine, he concludes that Zeus was dead and belonged not to heaven but to earth ; that the Greeks were ignorant of the shocking evidence of their own writers ; and that in all the follies of Egyptian animal worship there was nothing so despicable as the immoral mythologies of Hellas.

Besides, Clement contends, these deities have not really been friends of man.[1] Rather, their cruelty and vindictiveness are notorious. The armed contests of the arena are for their amusement. It is they who arouse the measureless ambitions of war. Human sacrifices, such as those offered to the Tauric Artemis (surely, as a Christian writer, Clement was here treading on dangerous ground ?), are recorded in many countries, and Solon was a far truer friend to Crœsus than Apollo. Clement is so led to investigate the origins of error and to ask how superstition, the cause of so much evil, first had its rise. What men call temples, he suggests, were originally only tombs, the inference being obvious that the gods were only men. He supports his theory by several instances, and refers to books on the subject, but passes on to deal with one of the stock themes of the critic, the character and origin of idols.

To this subject a long chapter is devoted,[2] though indeed it was difficult here to say anything new. That the idols were the work of human hands, had been an obvious commonplace since the days of Isaiah and the Psalmists. In Alexandria itself the Book of Wisdom had already enlarged upon the folly of "investing stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name."[3] But Clement in his learned way

[1] 36–55. [2] iv. pp. 40 *sqq*. [3] *Wisdom*, xiv. 21.

takes up the old theme with a fresh interest. Scimitars and stones and pillars had all been made objects of worship, and, when carving and sculpture lent them grace and features, as Art flourished, error grew. The famous works of Phidias, the Olympian Zeus and Athena Polias, then the Palladium, and the famous Serapis, so well known in Alexandria, are discussed. The shrine of Hadrian's favourite, Antinous, is mentioned as a recent and discreditable example of the cultus of the dead. The old story of Dionysius of Syracuse is repeated, who stripped a statue of Zeus of its golden robe and placed a woollen one in its stead; "it would be lighter in summer, and a better protection against the cold." Men, it seems, show as little respect to these manufactured deities as the birds who light upon their images,[1] or the fire that lays low their shrines.

Often, too, the idols were merely the likenesses of men, and many a goddess had been represented with the features of some famous courtesan. Men had claimed divine honours for themselves; then myth, legends, and associations of worship had gathered round them, and time had so created their divinity. There is the severest condemnation of Art and its evil consequences. The poet, the painter, the sculptor, had degraded religion, putting heaven upon the stage, making a drama of the divine, popularising immorality by the graven image, and supplying obscene pictures for the walls of private rooms. Better, as the Sibyl's verses counsel, to avoid all shrines and altars: better, as the old commandment says, make no likeness of anything in heaven above or on earth beneath: best of all, recognise the genuine Artist and Creator in the true God, whose mere will was the making of the world.

[1] Contrast the Psalmist's thought: "Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house," etc., Ps. lxxxiv. 3.

From these cruder deficiencies of Paganism Clement passes on to consider its more serious claims, as advanced by philosophers and poets.[1] For all its errors, philosophy may have its dream of truth. So he reviews the early physical theories of Thales, Anaximenes, Parmenides, Heraclitus, and the rest. They did not fall into mistakes so grievous as Greek idolatry or Egyptian animal worship; still, they stopped short at the worship of "weak and beggarly elements," air, water, fire, and the like. Others, who with Anaxagoras discerned intelligence in the Cosmos, did better. But Clement can see no good in the immanence of the Stoic theory. It is a disgrace to philosophy.[2] Nor does he rate the Peripatetics more highly. Epicurus, and his careless divinities, he is glad to forget.

And so, with a glance at the vagaries of astrology, he comes finally to his favourite Plato. "Whom, Philosophy," he inquires, "can you give me as an ally in my quest, for I do not wholly despair of you." "Take Plato if you will." "How then, Plato, are we to discover God?" "Well," in Plato's own words, "it is a hard task to discover the father and maker of this universe, and impossible even then to make the discovery clear to all."[3] "But, in God's name, why?" "Because He is inexpressible." "Well said, Plato; you have lighted on the truth. But grow not weary: undertake with me the quest of the Good, since a certain divine effluence is instilled into all men, but especially into those whose interest lies in intellectual pursuits." From this common inspiration comes the belief in One God, "somewhere up about the back of the heavens, ever dwelling in His own proper watch tower." Plato held this sound Monotheism: he learned it from the Hebrews, as he learned geometry from Egypt and astronomy from

[1] 55–65.
[2] οἱ καταισχύνουσιν ἀτεχνῶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, 58.
[3] *Timæus*, 28, *c*.

Babylon. Other philosophers, Antisthenes, Xenophon, Cleanthes, and the Pythagoreans, have had, like Plato, their glimpses and guesses of truth. And where philosophy has so far succeeded, poetry, too, has not altogether failed. Aratus and Hesiod, the Tragedians and Orpheus, have all taught fragments of the true theology, and, though they have never had power to reach the goal of truth, they are at least, from Homer onwards, of service to the cause by their portrayal of the frailties of the pagan gods.

So far, from the opening chapter, which forms the prelude, onwards, this appeal of Clement has taken a negative line. He has shown the absurdities of the pagan mythology and the inadequacy of the philosophic systems. The untenable character of the old religion has been demonstrated. Is there any alternative for this antiquated creed? We must turn now to the prophetic Scriptures:[1] "the divine Scriptures and sober rules of life are the direct pathways of salvation." But if truth is to dispel error, its mere statement will not suffice; we must hold it in constant use. So he turns to Moses and the Prophets, to the teaching of the Proverbs and the Psalms, and sets forth in their language the unity, the majesty, the nearness, the eternity of God.

Here, then, is the melody of salvation, a strain to which men may advance as an army on the march, forsaking Greek errors for the kingdom of the truth. The appeal is to the heart, as well as to the reason; it is not so much the Teacher as the "gentle Father," who calls his children to the citizenship and heritage of heaven. Yet how strange, at times, is man's response. How the freedom, life, and sonship which God offers, are rejected and despised. Surely the unbelieving stand in danger of judgment by this neglect. Great is the blessedness of

[1] 65–72.

His promise, if we will but hear His voice to-day, and our day lasts on and on, until the dawn of that never ending "To-day" of God, which extends to all eternity. Not all the gold of Pactolus' stream is price equivalent for this salvation. It is reality and the heavenly country and the light, that is light indeed, we long to see; not merely the smoke, after the manner of the old man of Ithaca in Homer's tale. "Taste and see that God is gracious." "Faith shall lead you in, experience teach, Scripture instruct." "Hear you that are far, hear you that are near: the Word is hidden from none: light is common, it shines on all men. None dwells in Cimmerian darkness in the Word. The cry of Abba, 'Father,' from His children, is welcome to the heart of God." It is in such terms, rising at times to the highest language of love, entreaty, and conviction, that the positive appeal of Christianity finds expression in Clement's pages. The argument is never forgotten, but it is tempered by a warmth of emotion such as is rarely blended with the "reason's colder part."

Clement turns aside at this point to meet a difficulty.[1] He touches upon one only of the several obstacles to conversion, which must surely have occurred to the minds of those who stood hesitating upon the borders of the Church. Observe its character. It is not the fear of persecution. It is not the loss of social status. It is not the improbability of miracle, or the mean and humble condition of the Saviour's earthly life. It is the natural reluctance of men to relinquish and overthrow the customs of their fathers. Even in Alexandria the interests of established order were of moment; and Celsus, it may be noted, concludes his many arguments against Christianity by appeal to a similar principle.[2] Now Clement can hardly

[1] 72–5; *cp.* Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 6. [2] Origen, *c. Celsum*, viii. 69.

be said to have given full consideration to this difficulty. He was a Greek, and the value of what was customary and established never appealed quite as forcibly to Greece as to Rome. Moreover, he had made the eventful change himself. So he replies sarcastically, that if no customs are ever to be abandoned, we must be fed for ever with the milk of infancy, and neither increase nor diminish the property we inherit from our fathers. Custom, moreover, may be evil custom; it may make us deaf to argument, and result hereafter in repentance that is useless and too late. Are we asked to desert old ways? Well, "it is a noble risk to desert to God." None of these lines of argument are worked out fully. He hints at the answer to the difficulty without developing it, and passes quickly from the objection back into the strain of positive appeal, which is afterwards maintained without interruption to the termination of the book.

Of this concluding section it is not easy to give a satisfactory epitome.[1] It must be read, and read again, for its power and sincerity to be felt; only so do we catch the underlying force of motive and conviction. Like the conclusion of many other sermons, it is somewhat too long drawn, and Clement admits this; "in speaking of the life that has no ending our very discourses are reluctant to bring their revelations to an end." Such is his confession, as he realises how the subject has borne him on. Characteristically, too, these pages lack order and arrangement, as he passes from one variation of his theme to another, or recalls a thought or argument of which previous mention has been made. But there is a religious quality in their tone that compensates for much; nowhere is the missionary element in Clement's character more clearly evidenced; nowhere does his genuine and fundamental

[1] 75–95.

Christianity more entirely predominate over all philosophic and merely intellectual interests. They reveal a side of his nature and personality of which critics and students have frequently taken too slight account.

Much, for example, is here beautifully said of the love of God for man. It is like the love of the mother-bird in Homer, wheeling anxiously around her young that are fallen from the nest:

μήτηρ δ' ἀμφιποτᾶται ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα.[1]

It is founded in reality, for man is God's handiwork, derives his life from God, and belongs wholly to him. It never tires; *οὐδὲ γὰρ σῴζων παύεται*: God's encouragement, counsel, training, affection have no stay. Let the child but be athirst for his Father and the vision of God shall be vouchsafed to him, without payment, for "there is no traffic in the truth." It is ever God's purpose to save the flock of men; in this way the Good God came to send the Good Shepherd, and since man is dear to God, and since those who are dear to one another have all things common, it follows that the Christian alone has riches and wisdom and noble birth. In short the whole of human life is good for those who have known Christ. The assurance of Christian faith has rarely been expressed with stronger conviction: it is like Saint Paul's words, "All things are yours; ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

With such possibilities before them, it is difficult to understand why men hesitate and deliberate about religion, though on other points their decisions are rapid and pronounced. After all, what is the opprobrium of the Christian Name or the taunts of the rabble, compared with the prize of Immortality? To this thought he recurs again and again. Immortality is not inherent in human nature as

[1] *Il.*, ii. 315.

such. It is a gift. It is conditional. It is the higher stage of existence, upon which we enter by the regeneration of the Word. It is the heavenly citizenship wherein man has fellowship with God. This way lies salvation and escape from sins and passions and from the degradations of Paganism. This way lies the road to light that is purer than the sunshine, and to God's eternal day. And even as the trumpet summons men to battle, so the peaceable notes of the Gospel music sound to the boundaries of earth, as Christ musters his armies for the bloodless victories of peace.

It is a "catholic" proclamation,[1] for all seasons and circumstances, covering the whole of life. Through this message men become good fathers, good sons, good husbands, good masters. It holds for every condition and relationship; "Till the soil, if that is your business, but recognise God in your husbandry. Sail the seas, if you love the sailor's life, but call to your side the heavenly Pilot. It is in the army that knowledge has fallen upon you; then hear the General whose commands are righteousness."[2] Even for the aged, who are come to life's hour of sunset, it is not too late; the end of life may be the beginning of salvation. Truth, which leads us heavenwards, may be rough at first, but, like the old Ulysses' island home, she is *ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος*, a good nursing mother, not inaccessible nor beyond our reach, for she may be in our households as an intimate guest. And when a man seeks earnestly for the knowledge of God, neither lack of education, nor obscurity, nor narrow means can effectually bar his way. He has his treasure in God and in his soul: neither moth nor robber nor pirate may cheat him of the prize.

In this closing appeal, so full of elevated feeling, so

[1] *καθολικὴ προτροπὴ ἡ θεοσέβεια*, 87. [2] 80.

characterised by inspiration, entreaty, and conviction, it is not easy to separate the threads of thought which are intertwined, nor to isolate the principal ideas from the texture of the fabric as a whole. But the reader at the close is left in no doubt that, whatever else the Gospel meant, it at least implied for Clement three great principles, Life and Liberty and Light. Not much is said about Forgiveness. Past sins and future penalties do not occupy him for long. The dangers of divine Judgment are never depicted as among the foremost motives for accepting Christianity. But in Clement's experience the Gospel had meant an assurance of eternal life, such as could be derived neither from the mysteries nor from philosophy. It had brought liberty from the degradations of paganism, from dæmonic powers, from bondage and things of sense. Above all, it had shed spiritual light and gladness upon those problems and obscurities of conduct and conviction which are the most serious burden of many thoughtful minds. These things he knows. These things he has to offer. These things are his positive argument for Church and Faith and Gospel. They were probably far more effective in winning assent than the repetition of ancient criticisms of the pagan myths, and sarcasms about the greed or lameness of the gods. The Word has come down from heaven ; there is no need, therefore, to travel through Greece and Ionia in quest of truth. By his universal teaching all the world has become as Greece and Athens ; and blind Tiresias, who never saw Thebes, shall behold heaven in the light and day of Christ.

Some wanderer on the frequented highways of the ancient world, who, like Clement, had visited many cities and sat at the feet of many teachers in Athens, in Carthage, in Tarsus, and in Rome, sailing from Puteoli across the Mediterranean into the great harbour of Alexandria, and

there finding his way from the halls of the Museum or the itinerant Cynic's lecture-room into the private house where Clement was accustomed to welcome all who cared to hear, listening to this new teaching and reflecting that, though he had heard of the Christians and their obstinacy, he had never understood that their philosophy was so deep, so reasonable, so glad and joyous a creed as this, may well have been stirred by the zeal and the conviction and the appeal of this unhesitating teacher to consider whether peace of mind and spiritual assurance might not be discoverable in this novel way of life. Something neither quite akin, nor wholly dissimilar, to what he had heard elsewhere from Platonist or Stoic or Pythagorean, lay hidden in this Alexandrine master's words. So again and again would the Divine Word appeal through Clement to its kindred element in the heart of some thoughtful Hellene. Then more instruction would follow, and the Scriptures would be explained and difficulties answered; and eventually there would be a Baptism and one more soul in the way of salvation would be added and welcomed to the Church of Christ.

Clement's *Protrepticus* is usually included among the "Apologies" for Christianity. It possesses, indeed, numerous and notable similarities with the works of the Apologists, but there are also considerable differences, so that its inclusion in this class of Christian literature must only be accepted with reservation. So soon as the pagan world began to take serious note of Christianity, and the Christians realised that it was desirable to justify their existence, their convictions, and their way of life, to those who were without, a number of common arguments came naturally into prominence and were used by almost every writer who undertook to defend the faith. Of these familiar themes not a few recur in Clement's work. Like Justin he refers with

approval to Plato's conception of God, appeals, though less extensively, to Prophecy, and thinks the Greeks borrowed their truest teaching from the Hebrews.[1] Like Aristides he is unable to discover true divinity in the elements, and urges the defects and depravities of the gods of Hellas, as depicted in the pagan myths.[2] With Athenagoras, who may have been among his masters, Clement has close affinities: that philosophers and poets attained to some measure of truth, that God is self-sufficient and beyond all need, that the "origins" of the pagan divinities can be discovered and discussed, that the demons are real agencies for evil, and that Art has been largely instrumental in fostering the growth of error, are all points in common between the Address of the Athenian Apologist to the philosophic Emperors and Clement's Exhortation to the Greeks.[3]

Nor is it with the Greek Apologists alone that such affinities occur. The Latin writers, Tertullian and Minucius Felix, have also their points of contact with the Alexandrine master. Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, written later than the *Protrepticus*, has the same insistence on the human origin of the pagan deities, on the scant respect shown to them by their worshippers, and on heathen indebtedness to the Scriptures.[4] And in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix—"la perle de cette littérature apologétique"[5]—there is evident indebtedness to the *De Natura Deorum* of Cicero, with which Clement also must have had direct or indirect acquaintance.[6] The age was not one of great originality, and the recurrence of these common themes in the pages

[1] Justin, *Apol.*, i. 20, 31 *sqq*, 44, 59.
[2] Aristides, *Apol.*, 3–6, 9–11.
[3] Athenagoras, *Apol.*, 7, 13, 17, 26, 30.
[4] Tertullian, *Apol.*, 10, 12, 47.
[5] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 389.
[6] In the footnotes of the Teubner edition of the *Octavius* there are 85 references to the *De Natura Deorum.*

of many Christian writers is incidentally an evidence of the rapidity with which books were circulated and ideas diffused.

Much however as Clement shares with the Apologists, he does not belong wholly to their class. To begin with, he refuted no charges. That the Christians were "atheists," that they were guilty of "Thyestean banquets" and "Œdipodean" immorality, that they were disloyal to the Emperor, bad citizens, and unprofitable in business, were common accusations, and one main concern of the majority of the Apologists was to demonstrate their falsity. It is no part of Clement's purpose in the *Protrepticus* to prove that the Christians were Cæsar's loyal subjects, or to dispose of the base and groundless calumnies as to orgies in darkened rooms. Nor is he even anxious to insist that Christianity is the true philosophy, or to plead that at least it shall be judged on its merits and not condemned unheard on the ground of the Name alone. Probably personal temperament made him largely indifferent as to the views the official world might hold about the new religion. The period, too, was one of comparative peace, and the smouldering hostility to Christianity may have remained quiescent in Alexandria until it broke out again under Severus' order in A.D. 202.

Thus Clement's work is not a defence of the Gospel. He nowhere implies that he is anxious to liberate the faith from active and dangerous attack. The *Protrepticus*, though in actual chronology it is anterior to Tertullian's *Apology*, in reality represents a later stage. Christianity is no longer concerned to conciliate opponents or allay scandal; it is winning adherents and challenging inquiry. It is at once more positive, more aggressive, more religious, than either Justin or Athenagoras had dared to represent it. The very title Clement chooses for his work, Λόγος Προτρεπτικός, while it has hardly any satisfactory English equivalent,

clearly implies that his plea is not for toleration, but for acceptance, allegiance, conversion. The keynote is assertion rather than apology, and though Paganism had by no means exhausted its resources, and persecutions as severe as those of Decius and Diocletian lay ahead, this first section of Clement's trilogy still marks an advance. Most peaceable of teachers as he was, this appeal to the educated is at once a summons and a challenge, proclaiming the passing of the old divinities and the inadequacy of philosophy, and asserting in terms, not in reality the less uncompromising because they are alive with religious fervour and the spirit of the most gracious love, that the new melody of the Gospel was better than the ancient music, and that through the historic revelation of the Word Incarnate man's spiritual horizon had been enlarged. Old standpoints and traditional valuations could no longer be maintained. The standing taunt that Christianity preferred the obscure and the ignorant and that it shunned the light of day, became invalid and untrue in Alexandria, so soon as thoughtful Greeks were openly invited to break away from old traditions, and to find by such avowed transition a spiritual home within the Church.

In other words, Clement, as we know him through the *Protrepticus*, is a missionary rather than an apologist, and no missionary is content with mere toleration, or with the mere admission that there is good show of reason and evidence for his message. He brings an offer of salvation: his gospel is man's highest spiritual good; it is not one of many possible philosophies, but an immediate, urgent issue of the life or death of human souls. The Catechetical School of Alexandria has been compared to a modern missionary college, planted among one of the ancient peoples of the East. It is one of the earliest examples the Church can show of Christian propaganda among educated people, and Clement's task corresponds to that of a latter-day

teacher of Christianity in some great centre of population in India or Japan. There is no question that Clement was a successful missionary. This is evidenced alike by the persecution of A.D. 202 and by the work of Origen. His method and manner of commending Christianity to the men who had grown to maturity under other influences, may well deserve the attention of all who take an active share or interest in the missionary enterprise of our own times. Two lines of reflection, among others, are obviously suggested by the *Protrepticus*.

Clement had the immense advantage of knowing from personal experience the alternative to his own creed. Like his master Pantænus, he had been nurtured in Paganism, and when he told his hearers that the old order was antiquated and insufficient, at least he spoke of things he understood. If he poured contempt on the coarse legends enshrined in the ritual of Eleusis, if he ridiculed the all too human frailties of the deities of Olympus, and set the teaching of Zeno and Plato far below that of the Scriptures, he was able in every case to give abundant reason for his assertions, because he understood Paganism just as thoroughly as its most convinced and immovable adherents. The modern missionary is hampered in his task by many extraneous associations. He goes among alien people, often as the man of a dominant and ruling race; he represents a civilisation whose commercial enterprise is aggressive, successful, and not invariably over-scrupulous; whose troops and foreign offices are always discernible in the background, behind the religious propaganda, however little the missionaries may desire this aid. Moreover, he has grown up from childhood in the faith he comes to preach; his acquaintance with the religion of his hearers can hardly be sympathetic, inasmuch as it has never been acquired from within.

From all such associations, dangerous when they rouse hostility, more dangerous still when they become the real motives of professed conversion, Clement's work in Alexandria was entirely free. They are the price and the penalty of Christianity's subsequent success. Neither aided nor hindered by these fortuitous conditions, his missionary enterprise was thus wholly dependent on the intrinsic value of the Gospel, and on his power to commend it to men similar in their culture and their sympathies to himself. On its merits alone his interpretation of Christianity could be accepted or declined by those who listened to its appeal. So he spoke as a Greek to Greeks, understanding from experience the difficulties of spiritual transition and the considerations most likely to result in the decisive step. The illiterate devotion of some Galilean Apostle, the Rabbinical learning of Saint Paul, the vehement intolerance of a Tertullian, would have failed to carry conviction, where Clement was exactly fitted to do his most effective work.

The deduction seems inevitably to suggest itself that the native convert, given education and given the true missionary spirit, is the best and surest medium for the spread of Christianity among the people of his race. Yet the experience of subsequent ages has not always been in accordance with this principle, and the history of Missions does not afford many eminent instances of men who, after leaving the religion of their younger days, have been abundantly instrumental in guiding others along the same approach to faith. Writers on mission work are thus constrained to confess that "up to the present we have not seen a really independent Indian theologian,"[1] and that for the East a native Christianity, free from the accidents and peculiarities of the West, remains no more than a hope and aim of the future. Perhaps in this way the past has lessons for us.

[1] Bishop Montgomery, *Foreign Missions*, 157.

Clement's work in Alexandria suggests what might one day be accomplished by educated natives in Yokohama or Pekin.

But, if this be one among the many ideals and possibilities of missionary enterprise that are still unrealised, there may still be drawn from the *Protrepticus* a principle of more immediate application. It may be necessary for the present to depend mainly for foreign work on men trained under Christian and western influences. But at least they must be the equals in culture and intelligence of those among whom they are sent to teach the faith. At least it should be the aim of every school of missions to impart to its students a full and even sympathetic understanding of the religions that are not their own. Clement made converts because he knew the pagan world. His work is so a protest against the common error of sincere piety, that love and zeal are a complete equipment for the task of propaganda, and that intelligence has no special function in winning aliens for the Cross. Mere argument, it is true, remains ever ineffective and inconclusive, as much so among the Brahmins to-day as in the Alexandria of Clement's time. Yet zeal should be according to knowledge, and there is no more hopeful symptom for the missionary enterprise of the future, than the recognition in recent years that culture and intelligence and breadth of view are among the first essentials for the man or woman who seeks to appeal effectively to the educated people of other civilisations and non-Christian creeds. It is strange that this principle should ever have been forgotten, but the lessons of Church History and the study of the Fathers have not always been appreciated at their true value by the most devoted adherents of the missionary cause.

One further question suggests itself in connection with the *Protrepticus*. Was Clement fair to the religion he had

left? There were many real differences and contrasts between Paganism and the Church. Are these left to make their own impression, or is the antithesis drawn even more sharply than the facts demand, the highest ideal on the one side set in comparison with the lowest practice on the other? Is Clement's attitude to Idolatry, to the Mysteries, to Philosophy, what we might expect from one whose normal outlook was generous, liberal, appreciative?

There was, of course, good reason for the Church's entire refusal to make terms with Polytheism and Idolatry. And Clement, in his scornful criticisms, had behind him the consensus of all the faithful, and the traditional refusal of all compromise, which Christianity had inherited from Judaism. What the world asked the Church to be, and what the Church never could be so long as it was true to its essential principles, was one religion among many, with a statue of the Christ side by side in the Pantheon with Serapis and Æsculapius. And, with all his liberalism, it was no more possible for Clement to accept such a compromise than it was for Tertullian; fundamentally, there is no difference between the *Protrepticus* and the *De Idololatria* of the vehement Carthaginian, who recognised in this error humanity's chief offence.[1] This intense opposition, laboured, intolerant, exaggerated, as it seems to the modern reader, was probably inevitable under the conditions of the time. To much that might have been urged on behalf of the old divinities the Church was bound to turn a deaf ear.

Yet perhaps we may wish a more fair consideration had been possible. After all, Christianity was not original in its attack. The philosophers, as Celsus urged,[2] had from Heraclitus onwards known that lifeless images were not gods. Clement was so fond of discovering behind all

[1] "Principale crimen generis humani." Tert., *De Idol.*, 1.
[2] Origen, *c. Cels.*, i. 5.

representations a higher reality and truth, that it may fairly be asked why he did not apply his favourite principle to the images of Athena and of Zeus. He is ingenious enough in discovering symbolical meanings in the Cherubim.[1] Could nothing of the same kind have been done for the statues of Hercules and Apollo? Surely, behind the old myths, behind the πλάνη ποιητική which Athenagoras[2] had recognised as a token of something more, there were higher immaterial existences, of which the philosophers were conscious and which the common crowd have never, even in Christian times, apprehended without the aid of material symbolism and embodiment. It seems as if Clement took the idols more seriously than Saint Paul, who "knew that an idol was nothing in the world." It seems as if, because Art had been misused and depraved, he had wilfully closed his eyes to all the grace of sculpture and all the deep moralities of the ancient drama. Yet there was something sincere in Cæcilius' action when he kissed his hand to the Serapis at Ostia,[3] something of true piety in the punctual observances of Marcus, the philosophic emperor, something of real spiritual consolation in the gentle ministries of Isis, Queen of Heaven and Madonna of an older creed, to the needs and frailties of humanity. The higher interpretation of Paganism, which finds expression, for example, in the *De Iside et Osiride* of Plutarch, has no recognition in Clement's pages. Christianity is a new departure and has nothing to say to any proposals for the spiritualisation and purification of older religious ideas and forms.

This difference of standpoint can hardly be better illustrated than by comparing Clement's estimate of Phidias' statue of Olympian Zeus with Dion Chrysostom's account of the same famous creation of the sculptor. To Clement it is merely so much "material," a libel on truth. "Every

[1] 667–8. [2] *Apol.*, 22. [3] Min. Felix, *Octavius*, 2.

one can see that Phidias constructed the Zeus at Olympia out of gold and ivory,"[1] and, this admitted, there is no more to be said. But for Dion the same statue is a human form attributed to God, because the human form is the receptacle of reason and of mind. "If there be any man that is utterly wretched in spirit, who has drained in the course of life the cup of many calamities and sorrows and is unable to wrap himself in the sweet rest of sleep—even he, I think, standing before this figure, would forget all the troubles and hardships he looks to experience in the common life of man."[2] There is some affinity between the experience Dion describes and the Christian soul's liberation from its burdens in the presence of the Cross. Yet Clement has no place for this nobler significance of idolatry.

His attitude to the Mysteries is the same. They are obscure, ridiculous, godless, in their gross misrepresentations of the divine. All his wide acquaintance with their many varieties of ritual and legend results in no solitary admission of their higher aspects. They are bad beyond redemption. Yet amidst much that was impure, crude, naturalistic, the Mysteries had undoubtedly a better element. Their vogue had increased, and the very character of Clement's irreconcilable attack is itself an evidence of their attraction for serious minds. Emperors, as different as Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, were each drawn to seek for the light and satisfaction of the initiated, and Apuleius, with all his uncleanness, grows dignified and serious when he mentions their holy and incommunicable secrets. Certainly there was a moral element in their demand for purification. "Procul este profani." Only those who are worthy might approach the inner shrine. In some way they encouraged the wider hope and fostered spiritual aspiration, and where this can be said, the case is not one

[1] 41. [2] *Or.* xii. Ed. Reiske, I., 400.

for facile condemnation.[1] "Il faut se tenir, en appréciant les mystères, à égale distance du dénigrement et de l'enthousiasme, reconnaître à la fois leur grossièreté et leur valeur morale, leur faiblesse et leur grandeur. Il faut s'efforcer de s'introduire assez loin dans l'intimité des âmes païennes pour comprendre comment ces deux éléments, si différents, pouvaient être combinés dans une même institution, et se rappeler avant tout qu'en religion comme dans tous les autres domaines, les manifestations de la vie sont infiniment plus complexes que ne l'exigent en général nos systèmes."[2]

And, besides these general considerations, there is the outstanding fact that the Church, while it took over in the first two centuries nothing from idolatry, had already borrowed largely from the Mysteries.[3] Both in the case of Baptism and the Eucharist the development of doctrine and of ritual was greatly influenced from this source. Such terminology as "Enlightenment," the "Seal," the "Symbol" in the one case; such principles as those of previous moral preparation and esoteric teaching in the other, are all derived from the cults and mysteries of paganism. Clement, as a previous chapter has made clear, was here not without

[1] The epigram of Crinagoras on the Mysteries is worth quoting: (Mackail, *Select Epigrams*, v. 17).

Εἰ καὶ σοὶ ἑδραῖος ἀεὶ βίος, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν
ἔπλως χερσαίας τ' οὐκ ἐπάτησας ὁδούς,
Ἔμπης Κεκροπίης ἐπιβήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκείνας
Δήμητρος μεγάλας νύκτας ἴδῃς ἱερῶν,
Τῶν ἄπο κἠν ζωοῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεὖτ' ἂν ἵκηαι
ἐς πλεόνων, ἕξεις θυμὸν ἐλαφρότερον."

[2] J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, 187.

[3] The exact measure of the Church's indebtedness to "Mystery Religions," whether the substance of their teaching as well as its form was appropriated, and whether, in particular, they exerted any determining influence upon Saint Paul, are matters at present in debate. But Clement's obligations are not questioned, though they may be differently estimated and explained.

his own indebtedness. The recurrence of mystic phraseology in his pages is striking enough : in the *Protrepticus* itself he claims that Christianity alone possesses the mysteries that are really holy, the light that is really pure ; and the Lord is represented as the true Mystagogue and Hierophant.[1] Where he had learned so much, where he had borrowed so much, it is strange to find his condemnation so complete. Was it only by such broad judgments, often of necessity indiscriminate and incidentally unfair, that Christianity could assert its tremendous claim ?

To Philosophy he is less severe. As we have seen, he recognises Plato as an ally and gives credit to others for their Monotheism. He allows here an element of truth, such as he did not discover either in Polytheism or the Mysteries. Yet, when we remember how much Clement owed to philosophy, and how large a proportion of its gifts he brought over into his religion, it is at first sight surprising that he does not speak more cordially of its services. Compare his ready welcome of philosophy in the *Stromateis*, and his repeated claim that it was a great preparatory power for Christianity, with his almost reluctant admission in the *Protrepticus* that he does not wholly regard it with despair. The difference of attitude is indeed surprising. Largely as he had learned from Stoicism, he dismisses it curtly with the single criticism, that the Immanence of the Stoics' theory is a disgrace to their profession. He speaks, too, of the philosophers as a "troop" and a "crowd," in a tone which recalls Keble's description of the British Association, as a "hodgepodge of philosophers."[2] No doubt a great deal of what passed as philosophy in Clement's time was poor and worthless enough. Lucian's *Hermotimus* was a far more damaging criticism of its value than anything to be found

[1] 92.

[2] χορός, ὄχλος, 55, 58. Cp. *Life of E. B. Pusey*, i. 219.

in the *Protrepticus*, or indeed in any other Christian writings of the period.

Now, it may be allowed that, if Clement had consistently dwelt upon the failures and inadequacy of philosophy, he could hardly have been blamed for making the most of facts which Hellenism itself could not deny. But this he does not do. He is at other times ready to do valiant battle with the sincere narrowness of the Orthodoxasts, and to claim that the ministry of philosophy is essential for the full grasp of religious truth and for the perfecting of the work of faith. His true Christian is indeed the true philosopher. To possess in perfection the philosophic mind is identical with entry into the spiritual Kingdom. It may be said that the *Protrepticus*, judged as an isolated discourse, is not entirely unfair in its estimate. Certainly it makes admissions. But recollecting what manner of man Clement was, and placing this missionary appeal side by side with his other writings, we may find cause for legitimate surprise at so notable a difference of estimate and of standpoint. The old Ionic teachers, who are said to have deified the elements, after all were feeling their way to truth and light. Nor could the creed which aided Marcus Aurelius to bear the burden of his position have been wholly devoid of spiritual and moral value. And the Church itself was already beginning to employ the methods and principles of philosophy for the conversion of the thoughtful. But then it did not fit in with the scheme of the *Protrepticus* to dwell on this aspect of the question.

The truth is that in the *Protrepticus* of Clement there emerges for the first time a problem which is still unsolved. It may be defined as the problem of harmonising missionary zeal with a candid recognition of alien spiritual values. It is one phase of the timelong discrepancy between intensity and breadth, between the fervour of conviction and the cold

white light of truth. If Clement does not answer the problem, at least he provides us with an excellent example of it, for his missionary zeal practically made the Catechetical School, while his generous recognition of many diverse modes of truth and goodness have caused him to be suspected by the less generous, ever since Demetrius was his Bishop. The two attitudes coexist in Clement, even if they do not harmonise.

From the days of Saint Paul onwards, the only motive sufficiently strong to sustain the enterprise of Christian Missions has been the conviction of the paramount value of the Gospel. The missionary goes to win and to save souls. He knows of one way of salvation and of one religion that is true. Neither in the second century nor in the twentieth can he ever admit the spiritual equivalence of other creeds. If there were not something absolute and intolerant in his conviction, he would have no sufficient reason for his risks and labours. What has been revealed to him, or to the Church of which he is the instrument, is truth, intended in the divine order for all humanity to share. The long record of suffering, privation, heroism, devotion unto death in the mission field, which is one of the Church's noblest possessions and more than an adequate answer to much cheap and comfortable criticism of mission work, has rested on some such basis as this. Remove the intensity of the conviction, abate the absolute character of the claim, regard Christianity as one among many possible ways, and the missionary motive is gone at once. There would have been no expansion of Christianity, no tone of earnest, loving entreaty in the concluding chapters of Clement's *Protrepticus*.

On the other side arises the question whether there is any such thing as spiritual monopoly. Is there not a light that lighteth every man ? Are there not many modes of

truth and right? If Christ is the Word, is not the Word common to all? The dispassionate student of religion will recall Justin's claim that there were Christians before the Incarnation, and recognise the danger of liberating men from the restraint of old and familiar sanctions. He will reflect that to the City that has "twelve gates" there must be as many roads, and that prejudice and partisanship have often made sincere people grievously unfair to those who travel on another pathway than their own. He will know that in the spiritual history of humanity there have been many leaders, many teachers, each making his own contribution to the cause of morality and truth. So he reverently acknowledges the many modes of the Spirit's operation: "many streams," in Clement's words, "flow into the river of truth."[1]

Few Christian people would be prepared to deny that each of these standpoints has its justification. A Church which ceases to be missionary, dies. A Church which sees no light beyond its own borders, is obscurantist. In the economy of Christendom there is ample room for the most active propaganda and for the most generous appreciation of truth and good in other systems. But their reconciliation is both practically and theoretically difficult. It may be questioned whether the two views ever find real harmony in any one mind. Clement, the missionary, is a different person from Clement, the Christian philosopher. With all his liberalism and his large-heartedness, when he is making converts he sees and says the worst of the other side. He stays to draw no careful line between what was good and what was bad in Paganism. The alternatives are set in strong contrast. Immediate choice is urged. A different spirit comes over his Hellenism; one that is not entirely unlike that of the Hebrew prophet on Mount Carmel;

[1] 331.

"God or Baal, which?" "Zeus is dead, Christ lives, can you hesitate?"

The religious tendencies of our own age are again raising this problem, which Clement did not solve. The comparative study of religion has taught us a more appreciative estimate of alien faiths. Parallels to Christianity are discovered in quarters where, a century ago, the devoted supporters of missionary work would have been troubled to think them possible. The ignorant error of classing all non-Christians as alike "heathen," survives only among the ignorant, and, except where mediæval theology still succeeds in excluding light and charity, the unbaptised are not regarded as inevitably "lost and perishing," in the old sense of those tremendous terms. Side by side with these broader convictions is a great revival of the missionary spirit, a sincere belief in the world-wide message of Christianity, a stronger consciousness of the great commission of the Church. To-day also the tendencies coexist, but without real harmony. The slow progress of mission work is a minor difficulty, when compared with the deeper problems of its basis and *rationale*. This question, suggested by Clement's *Protrepticus* and confronting us still unanswered in our own day, may find solution when some later leader of Christian thought, not less zealous and not less generous than the Alexandrine father, devotes himself to the task of reconciling these two tendencies or standpoints, and creates for the Church, what hitherto the Church has not possessed, a religious philosophy of Missions.

CHAPTER VIII

MANNERS AND MORALS

The Christian teacher, who approaches religion mainly on its intellectual side, is sometimes apt to ignore the difficulties which belong to the domain of action, choice, and feeling, rather than to that of the mind. It is not every man who lives in a world of books and ideas that can realise, with Matthew Arnold, that conduct is three-fourths of human life ;[1] or who bears in mind the principle and practice of that greater Master, who ever spoke the word unto his hearers "as they were able to hear it." So a structure of speculative theology may be built upon a defective foundation of character, and the clever student cause pain and surprise to his instructors by serious moral lapse. It is a signal mark of Clement's practical wisdom, as well as of his deep pastoral instinct, that he did not fall into this error. He knew, better than many who have since resembled him in the breadth of their theology, that the issues of life are not out of the head and intelligence alone. However strongly his own temperament and interests may carry him in the direction of intellectual realities and abstract truths, he never supposes that knowledge apart from conduct can constitute a true religion, or allows his hearers to forget that the power of spiritual vision is dependent on the control and discipline of the will. No doubt he had good

[1] *Literature and Dogma*, chap. i.

reason for thus insisting on the practical aspects of the Christian life, for one of the most evident deficiencies of Gnosticism lay exactly in its frequent combination of advanced and highly speculative theology with an indifferent, or even a positively immoral, standard of conduct.

To such causes we owe his *Pædagogus*. It is the second portion of his threefold work, and it deals with actions rather than ideas. The new convert from heathendom is handed over to the care of the divine "Instructor" and taught, in a series of concrete examples, how and where his Christianity must differ from the ways and habits of the world, in which he still must live, but whose standards he can no longer always make his own. The main obstacle to his conversion had in many cases been this very difficulty of breaking with old and established ways of life. Yet the difficulty, after all, did not so much end as begin with conversion. The Christian standard, outwardly accepted at Baptism, had to be inwardly assimilated by a slow and often painful process. Habits, feelings, susceptibilities, all the *σύντροφος καὶ κοσμικὴ συνηθεία*,[1] which home influences and the world's environment had made integral to his personality, must be modified and cleansed by the long remedial treatment of the divine Physician. It is conduct and action that are to be changed. Thus the practical character of the treatise is justly emphasised. Often the desired result can only be secured by such severe methods as criticism, suffering, fear, punishment; indeed, the Educator may even wound us for our salvation.[2] Yet the end of the treatment lies not in our external acts alone. The aim is rather an inner moral restoration of our nature, a new power of control, a new regulation of affection and desire, a change of heart, which comes not instantaneously, but through gradual discipline, of which the outcome is always

[1] 97. [2] *τρῶσαι σωτηρίως*, 142.

sanity and sobriety of conduct, and sometimes the aptitude for the higher stages of the spiritual life. The moral education of Christian character has not often had its principles more finely delineated than in the pages of the First Book of the *Pædagogus*.

What manner of persons, we may ask, were those for whom this treatise was written, or to whom the content of its instruction was delivered orally, at an earlier stage, in Clement's lecture-room? In one respect the answer is sufficiently clear. Not the poor; not the weak; not the unimportant; not the fullers, leather-sellers, and striplings on whom Celsus[1] had poured scorn, nor the obscure, chattering crowd which aroused Cæcilius' contempt in the *Octavius*.[2] To such the advice and admonitions of the *Pædagogus* would have been wholly inappropriate. Elaborate luxury and costly clothes had not been the besetting temptation of the rank and file of the Church's membership hitherto. Courage and patience rather than temperance and restraint had been the counsel most needed by the persecuted and the weak. But the *Pædagogus* is for the comfortable and the well-to-do. Its whole tone implies that the rich citizens of Alexandria found their way at times to the Catechetical School, and even into the Church's fold. Such may have been Leonides, the father of Origen, or the wealthy lady who was his patroness. The period is expressly mentioned by Eusebius as one in which persons of means and noble birth came over to Christianity in Rome, and the peace of the second century's closing years had doubtless had the same result in Alexandria. Clement himself was probably a guest at times in their houses, and may have reckoned some of the wealthy merchants of the

[1] Origen, *c. Celsum*, iii. 55.

[2] "Latebrosa et lucifuga natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula," Min. Felix, *Octav.*, 8.

populous emporium among his personal friends. The great and the important, as the world measures these things, had already their place within the Church. The *Pædagogus* is in this sense an evidence of the progress of Christianity; it is not less clearly an evidence of new dangers and of wider obligations.

It is possible thus to determine generally the outward and social position of those to whom the *Pædagogus* was addressed. A more difficult question arises in regard to their status within the Church. Clearly they are the newly converted; clearly they are in considerable need of discipline. Both these characteristics are implied when Clement aptly terms them "colts,"[1] and the whole scheme of the treatise is in accordance with this term. But are they eventually to advance to the higher stages of Christian Gnosis, or is this discipline only appropriate to those who will remain on the lower grade of the merely faithful? Each interpretation has been maintained. W. Wagner,[2] for example, regards the whole treatise as intended for the moral training of the ordinary believer. The threefold division of Clement's whole work would thus coincide with his threefold classification of humanity under the headings of unbelief, faith, and knowledge; and the *Pædagogus* would be a manual specially intended for that large and intermediate class of Christians who composed the rank and file of the Church's membership, men and women with no special gift of vision or intellect, and often, as we have already seen, with a considerable suspicion of any kind of teaching which advanced beyond their range. On the other hand, the treatise has also been regarded as not final, but preliminary. Its readers, on this interpretation, are to be led through moral training to the heights of knowledge, and the *Pædagogus* so becomes the intermediate discipline of the

[1] 106. [2] *Der Christ und die Welt*; see esp. p. 28.

perfect Gnostic.[1] In several passages[2] Clement seems to make it evident that he has one continuous scheme of spiritual education in his mind, and that the basis of a sound morality is laid in order that the complete structure of perfect knowledge may be erected and stand secure upon it. How are we to decide between these two divergent interpretations of the book?

The most probable answer is that the question should never have been raised. Clement does not, at this stage, distinguish between the ordinary and the advanced believer. Indeed, he devotes a whole chapter[3] to the repudiation of the Gnostic theory that men fall into distinct classes according to their several natures. He will not have it that some are naturally Gnostic, others psychic. For the present he is content to repeat the Lord's teaching on the equality of salvation, and the Apostolic principle of faith as the one universal salvation for humanity. Even in the later stages of his work, when he has made it clear that it is only the few, the very elect of the elect,[4] who are able to advance to the higher stages of spiritual intuition and discernment, he will admit no fundamental and inevitable distinction of nature. In principle the higher way is open to all,[5] however difficult and toilsome it may be to follow it; the selection[6] of the few who advance to knowledge from the many who remain in the state of obedience and faith, is not made as a matter either of favouritism or of predetermined necessity.

Thus in those earlier stages of moral training, with

[1] See Harnack's *Gesch. der altc. Litt.*, II. (ii.), 15, 16; also the article of Heussi, mentioned on p. 190.

[2] *E.g.* 99, τῇ καλῇ συγχρῆται οἰκονομίᾳ ὁ πάντα φιλάνθρωπος λόγος, προτρέπων ἄνωθεν, ἔπειτα παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων; *cp.*, too, 660; also vol. ii. pp. 76 *sqq.*, and pp. 235 *sqq.*, *infra*, for the relation of Faith to Knowledge in Clement's teaching.

[3] *Pæd.*, I., vi. 112 *sqq.* [4] 793, 955. [5] 788. [6] 803, 865.

which the *Pædagogus* deals, it is premature to raise such distinctions. The converts who needed admonition against over-eating and love of finery were in no fit condition for any thought of Gnostic communion, and Clement, who was a careful observer of character in his lecture-room, wisely avoided any haste in his selection.[1] Thus, if in the *Pædagogus* he at times refers to the advanced stages of fuller vision, and at others treats of the most elementary topics of Christian duty and decent manners, the inconsistency is only apparent. His hearers and readers have come over from the pagan world to the Christian Church. At a later stage distinctions of gift, aptitude, spirituality, will become evident among them, and a minority will make their way along the arduous road whose goal is the Beatific Vision. Meantime, for all, the immediate task is one and the same; conduct must be regulated; feeling and desire must be restored and purified; the believer must learn just at what point his pathway becomes distinct and separate from the common highroads of the world; a sketch of Christian character, as it is evidenced in some of the most familiar departments of ordinary life, must aid him in acquiring the power of moral judgment. The most elementary Christians, and those who are to make one day the furthest progress, alike require this earliest discipline. As yet Clement does not concern himself to differentiate their training and capacities. The whole flock, men and women alike, and all spiritually in the state of childhood, are handed over to the divine Instructor for guidance, discipline, and their lasting amelioration.[2]

A further question of considerable interest arises in connection with the last two books of the *Pædagogus*, when we ask whether Clement had personal knowledge of the subjects about which he writes. How comes it that this

[1] 320. χρόνῳ δοκιμάζει. [2] 129, 155.

teacher of the higher ways, who never hides his dislike of crowds and towns and life's material cares and interests, manifests such an astonishing acquaintance with the social customs, the fashions, the luxury, the follies, and the vices of Alexandria? The goal of his great literary undertaking is the apprehension of ultimate and abstract truth, yet he writes familiarly in the *Pædagogus* about furniture and footgear, about convivial jests and signet rings. It is not often that the philosopher knows the world so well.

Now the difficulty has been sometimes solved by supposing that Clement's details are all at second hand. His picture of luxury, it is said, is borrowed: he writes of what he has read, not of what he has observed and experienced. Since P. Wendland showed the indebtedness of the Alexandrine father to Musonius,[1] the master of Epictetus, it has never been possible to regard the *Pædagogus* as a picture entirely drawn from life. The references at the foot of Dr Stählin's pages also prove Clement's frequent use of still existing literature; and he may well have borrowed more from compilations which have perished.[2] But it would be easy to press this theory beyond the limits of probability. The *Pædagogus* was most likely, in substance, first delivered in the lecture-room. Traces of its original form still survive, as when he addresses his readers in the second person or speaks of them as "hearing."[3] And it is quite improbable that Clement would have set before his hearers a description of luxury which was wholly out of keeping with the facts. If he describes a bed as having silver feet and ivory ornamentation, carved woodwork, and purple blankets, his account may fairly be taken as evidence that such beds were

[1] See Wendland's dissertation, *Quæstiones Musonianæ*, pub. 1886. To some extent his views have subsequently been modified.

[2] See *supra*, chap. v.

[3] ὦ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, 99; ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀκουόντων, 225. *Cp. supra*, p. 211.

in use in the more wealthy houses of Alexandria, in spite of the fact that the reference to ivory is a quotation from Plato's *Laws*.[1] So if he tells us that courtesans painted, and that some women's unguents were so strongly scented and abundant that they stupefied their husbands, these details may be taken as pictures of actual life, even though similar observations had been made by the moralists before.[2] That there is some exaggeration is probable enough. It is the customary method of all satirists and preachers. And Clement says the worst he can of Alexandrian luxury, just as in the *Protrepticus* he had said the worst about the mysteries and the heathen gods. De Faye[3] justly concludes that the *Pædagogus*, whatever its indebtedness to other writers, is still a true picture of Clement's teaching. To this we may add the further observation, that his teaching can hardly have been other than a true picture of actual manners and morals in Alexandria. Clement was a man of extraordinary versatility, perhaps "a most unusual type of cleric," as Bigg remarks.[4] He seems to have found the highly abstract philosophy of his deeper thinking quite compatible with social intercourse, companionship, an occasional dinner-party, and much intimate knowledge of the world. To some extent the *Pædagogus* must have depended on personal experience and observation. We may take its two last books as a substantially true representation of certain sides of life in Alexandria, without staying to draw the line between what its author learned from books and what he knew first hand.

In any case, Clement could hardly be said to have observed his own principle,[5] that the common faults and failings of a great city, pitiable and ridiculous as they often are, should only be observed at a distance. On the contrary,

[1] 188, 217, *Laws*, 956, A. [2] 208, 253. [3] *Clément d'Al.*, p. 86.
[4] *Origins of Christianity*, p. 404. [5] 182.

his account of morals and manners in Alexandria is most intimate and detailed. He takes his readers close up to the very sights from which he desires to warn them off, in the hope that vice, folly, and extravagance may repel by their sheer excess. So from his pages may be drawn the account of many a typical scene or character of contemporary life. We see what manner of man was the vulgar Dives of the day. We can watch him entertain his guests. We get a glimpse of the young dandy ; of the lady of fashion ; of the painted courtesan. These pictures suggest how much in some respects, how little in others, the world has altered since Clement took his notes.

There was the vulgar Dives[1] of Alexandria, on whom the great city had set the stamp, not of its culture, but of its abundant affluence. He is a man of no refinement. Tasteless luxury and mannerless ostentation are evident in all his possessions and in all his ways. His house recalls Philo's description of the accumulations in the house of Flaccus.[2] Beauty and even use are secondary : extravagance and display are everywhere predominant. Cedar and ebony, ivory and tortoiseshell, silver and gold, meet the eye on all sides. The table must have ivory feet ; the carving-knife is studded with silver ; the foot-bath must be of the same material ; no lamp is good enough unless it is made of gold. The precious metals dazzle you even in the bathrooms of the women, and the meanest vessels of the kitchen or the bedchamber are made of the same costly substances. Gold is embroidered on the carpets ; mats and rugs are coloured by the most expensive dyes. The atmosphere is heavy with the scent of

[1] The reader who so desires may find the authority for this and the following sketches in various passages of the Second and Third Books of the *Pædagogus*. With this general reference it is hoped he will rest content. It would have made the footnotes too numerous, had a separate reference been given to each of the scattered passages upon which the descriptions are based.

[2] *In Flaccum*, 18.

delicate perfumes and luxuriant flowers. There is an army of attendants, cooks, butlers, valets, cupbearers, eunuchs, and ladies' maids. For such slaves far higher prices were paid than for those who worked upon the land. The *μειρακίων ὡραίων ἀγέλαι*, who seem to be a normal part of such an establishment, give a dark hint of the most unnatural of ancient vices.

As for the man himself, he has the qualities of his class in every age. His income may be derived from land or have been won by other means, which will not bear inquiry. He boasts of his riches, and, devoid of all sense of responsibility for wealth, asks why he should not do as he pleases with his own. The ways of luxury have made him physically weaker than his servants, yet he bullies them at his whim and fancy. When he talks, it is with a loud voice, and of no subject so frequently as himself and his great possessions. He never puts on his own boots, and is so far from the traditional example of King Pittacus, who turned the mill, that he scorns all useful labour, and even for recreation will neither handle a hoe nor fell a tree. If he laughs, it is loudly and with no respect for the presence of older men. If he summons a slave, it is by a shrill whistle through his fingers. If he makes a jest, it is tasteless and personal. He is enervated and wrinkled by excessive indulgence in the bath. He is popular only with those who flatter him for his wealth. He is so devoid of dignity and self-control that he will follow every fancy and allurement, as it may chance to lead him on. Such a man you may see among his peers, when the amphitheatre is crowded for some spectacle or contest. Or you may recognise him for what he is in the public streets by his mannerless bearing and his offensive stare. Another day you will see him in the barber's shop or the tavern, playing dice, talking scandal, or eyeing the women who pass by. Yet again, you may meet him

being pushed up hill by his slaves. These are his qualities, and so his days are spent. When the night falls, he tosses with the restlessness of the dyspeptic in the hollows of a feather bed, and all his great possessions are unable to bring him either ease of body or calm of mind.

From time to time this ostentatious personage would give an entertainment to his friends. To be a guest at one of these elaborate banquets was to witness the extreme of Alexandrian luxury, and to observe how wealth could entirely lack refinement, even in the most intellectual city of the day. The wines and delicacies are gathered from all quarters; these gluttons seem "just to sweep the world with a drag-net for their indulgence." The import merchants can hardly have doubted that luxury was good for trade. From the straits of Sicily come the lampreys; from Abydos, oysters; Media provides the peafowl; Mantinea, once celebrated for a famous victory, now supplies equally famous turnips. Crete, Sicily, and the islands of the Ægean send their different kinds of wine; even Italian vintages are imported, though Egypt had well-known varieties of its own. The bread is of flour so refined that it has lost its nourishment. So strangely does Clement's picture anticipate a recent movement for "Standard Bread." The dishes are all served with an abundance of condiments and sauces. The jaded appetite is stimulated by every known device of the culinary craft. There is an infinite variety of drinking vessels; plates and utensils are of silver and gold.

Among the guests, as they recline upon the couches for the feast, may be noted the repulsive glutton, who has literally come to eat; the buffoon, who rouses noisy laughter by his grotesque vulgarities; the assertive man, who is always wrangling with his neighbour; the married lady, whose husband, apparently, is absent, and the unmarried, who would have done more wisely not to be there at all. As for the

conversation, such a banquet was no feast of reason ; the language was often tasteless, scandalous, immodest ; and the manners of the company were little better than their talk. Their eyes would follow some favourite viand round the room. They would lean forward to inhale the vapour from some special dish. They would snatch greedily after the sauces. Their postures were often graceless, and sometimes barely decent. They would rub their eyes, wipe their noses, or sneeze loudly in the presence of the company, and feel little shame about such recognised breaches of decorum. Clement gives other details of their behaviour which are better not reproduced. Noise, haste, appetite, want of all refinement, seem to characterise the banquet throughout. We can understand why Dion Chrysostom [1] thought manners were better in Rhodes than in Alexandria, and why it was worth while to commemorate good manners so frequently in inscriptions.[2]

A special feature of such a banquet was its music. Even in Plato's time the susceptibility of the Greek race to this influence was notable, and in Alexandria, as we have seen, this susceptibility was at its highest. So the cymbal and the flute contributed to the revelry. There were songs, comic or erotic. By "chromatic harmonies" or alluring Carian melodies each sensuous emotion was aroused. All that made for enervation and laxity of morals was specially in vogue. Clement is reduced to sore straits in attempting to demonstrate that the lyre, the timbrel, and other instruments named in Scripture, are really not to be taken as any precedent. When we put together all he tells us of Dives' entertainment of his guests, there is little occasion for surprise that the doctors criticised such elaborate diet, or that a string of nicknames existed for the habitual *bon vivant*, or that some

[1] *Oratio*, xxxii., *supra*, pp. 59 *sqq*.
[2] See Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 221.

members of the company came away with uncertain gait and a tendency to see double and a certainty for to-morrow of a headache and bloodshot eyes.

At the opposite extreme to this rich vulgarian, though indeed extremes meet, was the Fop. Fashionable Alexandria had its dandies, and Clement was familiar with these exquisite beings, as they gathered in the public baths, or sought their familiar haunts about the town. One or another of them may have even appeared from curiosity in his lecture-room, for superficial culture was sufficiently *à la mode*. The type was not a difficult one to recognise. Dress, gait, manner, complexion, all betrayed it. At home this elaborate personage possessed his numerous chests of clothes ; to take care and thought for raiment was among the serious occupations of his life. Dressed in a robe so long that it swept the dust and dirt of the public ways, of gaudy dye, elaborate pattern, and finest texture, he would mince and saunter along the streets, happy when he could attract the notice of passers-by or rustle his finery before some woman's eyes. The hair of his head was curled and scented, but otherwise he was clean shaven, no beard, no moustache, with every hair of his effeminate body removed at one of the many establishments where this process was conducted at high charges, by means of pitch. His languid bearing, his enervated voice, his girlish perfumes, and the engraving of his mistress on his signet ring, all plainly mark the fop. He is a favourite with certain ladies and often in their houses. He wears a ring on the middle joint of his finger. In hot weather a garland of costly flowers cools his brow. As his hair turns grey he dies it auburn, but time may not be so put off, for the frank and inconvenient mirror reveals the inevitable wrinkles. He takes part in no manly sports and prefers the bath to the gymnasium. It takes many attendants to minister to his wants. From

all that is manly or simple or of real dignity he is utterly removed. He reminded Clement of what the poets had said about Helen's lover, Paris ; and made him wish that it was possible to revert for remedies to the stern severity of old Roman morals, or to the simple life of the Scythian, whose needs were all satisfied by the frugal stores of his waggon home.

Such are the men Clement paints upon his canvas : but what of the women ? The fine lady of Alexandria is easily recognisable, but we must not seek her among domestic duties or in the company of her lord. She may be seen passing along the streets in a closely curtained litter, but the curtain is often drawn aside and my lady looks keenly round to attract attention, or leans forward to display her charms to more advantage. Possibly in the same way we may meet her going the round of the Temples, busy with sacrifices and occult arts, and consorting with every tricky priest or disreputable old fortune-teller who will promise her the attentions of some unlawful lover. Another day she frequents the shops ; the perfumer, the goldsmith, the costumier know her well ; it is not surprising that Clement hardly refers to her husband, except to remark that she unties his purse strings. As for her dress, her jewellery, her various scents, they are costly, showy, and profuse. Her attire is of silk or of some delicate material, almost diaphanous, and clinging to the figure. Sometimes it has a pattern of flowers stamped upon it, or is inwoven with gold thread, or is made of purple, saffron, or variegated cloth, but it is never made at home and it is never of simple white. She wears earrings, anklets, necklaces, pearls, and many chains. Her shoes have golden ornaments, and some lover's device is even imprinted upon the sole. At times she will be conspicuous by wearing a purple veil, and even Clement finds language

fail him when he comes to speak of her fine linen ; "luxury has struck out beyond our vocabulary," he quaintly pleads, and lets it be.

So elaborate is the dressing and braiding of this lady's hair that she hardly dares to rest her head for fear of disarranging it. As grey hair comes, it must be dyed, and sometimes artificial additions must supplement the failing supplies of nature. Her "making up" is a long process, rarely omitted, in spite of the well-known evil effects of cosmetics on the skin. Soot was used for the eyebrows, white lead for the cheeks, but even so the result could not stand the light of day. As was her appearance, so was her way of life. The days of such a woman seem to have been empty and tedious enough. Among her crowd of servants are few whose occupations tend to the solid comfort of her household, but many who are skilled in the refinements of the bath or the toilet, and some who are clever enough to beguile my lady's *ennui* by silly gossip or questionable stories. It is like mistress, like maid, and with some of her attendants she would be amazingly familiar, in spite of her horror at the thought that, if she were stripped of her finery, she would look exactly like one of the menials in her pay.

Her pets, too, were an important element in her establishment. Lucian[1] tells an amusing story of a philosopher in some great lady's employ who was told to look after her favourite dog. A pup or a parrot, a peacock or a monkey, would receive lavish attention. Clement's remark that this solicitude might better have been bestowed upon the aged or the poor, is possibly still applicable, even in some nominally Christian households. At times, when the pets grew tedious, she would receive visitors, and the effeminate and immoral dandy above described was usually among their number. It is a sorry but probably a true picture of a

[1] *De mercede conductis*, 34.

woman's life. In a later chapter we may see that, even for pagan womanhood, it was a one-sided and partial representation of the facts. Again, we must remind ourselves that Clement says the worst he can: he is speaking of women and "corruptio optimæ pessima."

Between the married woman of doubtful morals and the professed courtesan, the line to be drawn is indeed a thin one; but the latter may perhaps best be recognised as a type apart.[1] Every great city, from the most ancient to the most modern Babylon, has possessed them. Moralists, from Saint Augustine onwards,[2] have been obliged to recognise that, as the world is, they are an inevitable class. No one who knows Paris or Central London can fail to recognise Clement's description of the painted creature, who emerges towards evening from her habitation and is never seen by day. This strange problem, so insoluble for the moralist and even for the Christian, existed in Alexandria. Her attire, her bearing, her yellow dyed hair, bespoke her class. In the public baths, where mixed bathing went on in spite of Hadrian's prohibition; in every crowd which thronged the circus or the theatre; in places of ill fame, and in the public streets, the courtesan was known and found. There was a traffic in white slaves then as now, and Alexandrian slaves had an evil and recognised notoriety. These "Helens," as Clement calls them, seem to have differed little from their like and kind in other ages. Perhaps vice was hardly so repulsive

[1] *Cp.* 253, μετεσκεύασεν τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς πόρνας ὁ προαγωγὸς οὗτος δράκων (*sc.* the Serpent); also Tertullian, *Apol.*, 6, "Video et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum." Contrast the reference to Jewish morality, 552.

[2] "Herself the supreme type of vice, she (*sc.* the prostitute) is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue." Lecky, *History of European Morals*, ii. 283. *Cp.* Saint Augustine's words, "Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus," *De ordine*, ii. 4; (Migne, P. L., xxxii. 1000).

as it looks to us. It was more open and evident and certainly not less common. Wherever else Clement may have exaggerated, he is probably well within the bounds of sober truth when he describes its flaunting prodigality and its dreary, inevitable results.

From such pomps and vanities it is a pleasure to turn to Clement's picture of the Christian life in the world. His sketch is to show us what manner of man the Christian should be in all his various relationships. This is not to say that Clement will describe in all its details every department of conduct and behaviour, but that by a series of selected instances[1] he will leave it evident that there is nothing so trivial or so ordinary as to be unaffected by a man's religion. When he comes to a later stage of his undertaking, he will describe, less in detail but with sufficiently clear outlines, the more advanced type of Gnostic Christianity. He will then set before his readers an ideal of remoteness from the ordinary world, of studied indifference to all its passing interests, of just so little participation in its affairs as is compatible with goodwill towards fellow-men. For this stage of the contemplative life the time is not yet come. His converts are in the world, and there, for the present, they are to remain. However fundamental is the change of standard and ideal symbolised for them by their Baptism, their immediate environment remains as it was. The difference lies in their relation to it. So the *Pædagogus* raises no cry to the new people that they shall leave the wicked city and its ways. Rather, after the manner of Jeremiah's friends in Babylon, they are to enter fully into its vocations and its interests. Yet a line is drawn, sometimes definitely and sharply, sometimes with a less sure hand. As we trace this distinction through all the later sections of the *Pædagogus*, we are able

[1] 278, *cp.* 309.

to observe, one by one, the many slight or serious evidences which proved to surrounding Alexandria that the new community had a standard, a πολίτεια, of its own.

Like the rest of the world, the Christian needed food and drink. But he was not concerned or anxious over such things. He only ate to live. So simplicity was the principal characteristic of his fare. To delicacies and the good things of the feast he was indifferent, ready to share them if they were to hand, but equally ready to be satisfied with the plainest fare. You might meet him at a banquet or a supper, but he would often choose the lighter dishes, let the rich sauce go by, and rise early from the table, when these things could be done without churlish aloofness or any slightest suspicion of discourtesy towards his host. Frequently, like the Pythagoreans, though on different grounds, he would be a vegetarian, remembering the Baptist's fare or the tradition that Saint Matthew (though indeed Levi once made "a great feast" in his house) lived on a diet of seeds and nuts and vegetables. The Christian would never talk with his mouth full, and you could never notice the stains of food upon his clothes. In such little things was the "Word's" influence discernible. As to wine, water was the natural drink of man, but there was no binding rule to abstain, any more than in the matter of meat. The Lord, Clement remembered, did not wholly decline it, and wine made a man genial, sociable, considerate. Of course there was always the danger of shipwreck here. A "dry soul was best." In any case, wine should be well mixed with water, drunk only in the evening, and forbidden to the young. So the Christian would never cloud his understanding by excess, and for the most part, if he drank at all, he would be satisfied with "the wine of the country" and a plain cup to drink from. It is a wholesome picture of reasonable moderation.

The rule and standard are similar in the matter of attire, and of appearance generally. There must be simplicity, but no eccentricity. There must be no undue taking thought for raiment, either on the part of men or of women. On the other hand, there is no trace yet of the perverted ecclesiastical sentiment which discerned merit in rags or dirt. So far as looks go, the men and women who are trained by the *Pædagogus* betray good sense and decency, with the health that comes of simple living, and the natural beauty that is born of health. The men are clad in robes of reasonable length, white in colour, rough in texture. No scent of unguents hangs about them; they never wear garlands; they often go barefooted; there is a general absence of ornaments, though a ring of gold was not forbidden. Their hair is close cut on the crown, but the beard grows full, and, had Clement been a Bishop, none of his candidates for Orders would have been allowed to shave the upper lip. The old men make no attempt to hide their age; indeed, grey hairs are honoured. Whether young or old, these men are dignified and restrained in manner. They never tear along the streets. Their tone is never noisy or aggressive. The inward peace of the Christian character may be discerned in their bearing by the passer-by.

So, too, with the women. Their clothing is white, like the men's, but of softer texture and more full in style. They wear white shoes. Out of doors they are veiled. They do not pay high prices when inexpensive materials will suffice. Their faces are free from cosmetics, as their clothing is free from dyes of rose, green, scarlet, purple, for "life is not a show." Unguents are not wholly forbidden them. Their hair, which is all their own, is fastened by a simple brooch. Like the men, they never hide their years. In the bearing of such a woman there is nothing loose or artificial; it is characterised by naturalness, grace,

simplicity, and entire control. The true dignity of womanhood was not unknown to the world, even before Christianity asserted it, but the city of Cleopatra may still have had something to learn from Clement's picture. Was not Potamiæna, too, probably living in Alexandria when he wrote?

In many other similar respects these children of the Divine Word give evidence of their training. Never ascetics, never abandoning the principle that all natural instincts are to be regulated, not eradicated, never wholly declining the varied gifts of God, they seem to frequent the world's ways with a singular freedom and a singular self-control. They are sociable enough, though society never wholly determines their conduct. They can laugh heartily and make good-natured jests. They are content with simple furniture in their houses, but will use elaborate things if they possess them. They neither wholly avoid the baths, nor forget their modesty when they are there. When they go on their journeys, their preparations are more simple than those of their neighbours. The young men are sometimes fond of wrestling or playing at ball. Like the Master they follow, they enjoy in the springtime the beautiful sight of the flowers of the field. They might be met, like other people, in the shop or in the market-place. They might be seen going into the country, or entering Alexandria by one of its several gateways, as their business gave them need. These people seem to take the world at its best, and to find in life an abundance of interests. Yet sometimes the line is more sharply drawn.

They were never seen, for example, at the play. They were never found among the crowds in the amphitheatre. The one was too immoral; the other was too hideously cruel. So here, definitely, they stood aloof. Again, they would never take part in foul talk; for low stories they had an evident disgust. They would never go into the taverns

and talk gossip, nor would they play a game of dice for money. So, too, they were curiously particular about the devices they wore on their rings. A dove, a ship, a fish, an anchor, were right enough and had a religious meaning, but a sword, a drinking-cup, an idol's head, they were never known to wear. They were honourable in business, but they could rarely be induced to confirm its transactions by an oath. These, be it observed, are examples only. They are hints, incidentally emerging in the pages of Clement's treatise, proving how in many of the minutiæ of daily life some slight but distinct departure from the world's ways might indicate the follower of the Lord. They are the counterpart in everyday affairs of their refusal, in all the full publicity of some great festival, to throw a few grains of incense on the altar of Cæsar or of Isis. The Cross [1] involved a new boundary line.

When Clement invites attention to these many minor details of life and conduct, he is only developing an element of Christian teaching which had already found expression in the New Testament. Jesus Himself had something to say on such matters as food and raiment, and on the dangerous mood which leads the man of wealth to bid his soul eat, drink, and be merry. The counsels of Saint Paul that the Christian should "study to be quiet and to do his own business," that he should abstain from all appearance of evil, that his speech should be "with grace seasoned with salt," and that sometimes he should "use a little wine for his stomach's sake," are closely paralleled by much that Clement has to say. So, too, Saint James' description of the important man with the gold ring and the goodly apparel, Saint Peter's contrast between the plaiting of hair and the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, the symbolism in the Revelation of the "fine linen," which is the righteousness

[1] ὄρον ἔχωμεν τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ κυρίου, 303. This interpretation was Gnostic.

of saints, and of the purple, scarlet, precious stones, and pearls, in which Babylon, mother of harlots and abominations, was arrayed, are all evidence of the contact of Christianity with the fashions, customs, luxury, and vices of the world, at least a century before the date at which Clement spoke and wrote about them in Alexandria.

Yet it is well to remember that the *Pædagogus* is by no means exclusively dependent on those definitely Christian antecedents. It is rather, when carefully considered, a happy example of religious syncretism at its best. Clement is as little hampered by religious as by literary scruples in his use of alien material. Beyond the New Testament he found much to his purpose in the Old, specially in the Wisdom Literature, and particularly in the pages of Ben Sira, the Greek version of which had, of course, its special connection with Alexandria. A good deal he derives from Plutarch, more from Philo, nor are his readers ever allowed to forget for long that the *Republic* and the *Laws* of Plato also dealt with details of moral training. His Platonism comes out in such details as his dislike of oaths and precious metals; just as the influence of Stoicism is apparent, not only in particular admonitions, but also in his fundamental and reiterated principle that external possessions and advantages are in themselves indifferent. What he derived, directly or indirectly, from Musonius has already been mentioned. So far as the substance and texture of the two later books of the *Pædagogus* are concerned, the author seems more indebted to philosophy than to the Scriptures. Yet the three books are really a whole. The ideal of the educative Word, training his children, healing their infirmities, leading them stage by stage to higher things, is not to be forgotten or left behind, when we come to such questions as what to eat, what to wear, how to walk along the streets. His influence, varying with the differences of occasion,

person, place,[1] will allow the moderate use of wine, forbid garlands, suggest economy, and shame men from effeminate ways. Between the high and somewhat abstract conception of a Divine Order, and the detailed and often seemingly unimportant admonitions of the later chapters, there is apparently a formidable gap and distance. The ideal does not easily relate itself to practice, and all our visions lose something when we attempt to work them out in the concrete affairs of mundane life. It is to Clement's credit as a teacher that he has accomplished this.

He starts with the truly beautful and Christian conception of a Divine Instructor of humanity, with this old yet new idea of the Word. The problem is, with the actual needs of his pupils ever in mind, to make this idea operative in Alexandria. So there is no ignoring of the facts, none of the preacher's common oblivion that we are not yet come unto Jerusalem. He recognises things as they are ; human nature, external circumstances, current ideas are all within his scheme. That it is easy to slip into sin, that human nature has its baser and animal side, that the pampering and stimulating of the body is disastrous to the soul, that people show by their external life their inward qualities, that severity is often beneficial, that some courses are so morally dangerous that they must always be avoided, are facts he never leaves out of sight, even though he is writing for the dear children of the Word. Hence his extraordinary explicitness. Hence his advice on the slightest details. Hence his close contact with actual life.

Moreover, his readers are in the world. So he does not ask the impossible, nor put them off with counsels of remote perfection. They will continue to share in social intercourse. In the home, in the market-place, or in the public bath, their environment will be as before. Their place is still

[1] ὁ λόγος οὗτος συναρμόζεται καὶ συσχηματίζεται καιροῖς, προσώποις, τόποις, 194.

upon the trodden ways of men. And there is an admirable sanity in Clement's recognition of these conditions. It is really Christian life he depicts, but it is not life in a monastery, nor with Philo's Therapeutæ of the Mareotic lake. He has in mind what is actually possible, within a stone's-throw of the Portus Eunostus or the Serapeum.

It is the same with current ideas. Plato, Zeno, Musonius, and the Pythagoreans, had said things that were profoundly true and far more familiar to his readers, as they had indeed at one time been to Clement himself, than the teaching of Moses or Saint Paul. Is all this to be discarded? Does Baptism involve the rejection of all the *Republic* had taught about music, or of all that Zeno had said on modesty of bearing? Clement was too wise and too generous a Christian to insist on anything of the kind. The Church's teachers have sometimes been willing to allow no truth, unless it is taught under the sanction and authority to which themselves they are committed. On the other hand, the philosopher is *συνοπτικός*.[1] Clement has this latter quality. He sees what is to his purpose in many books and many schools, and he knows that it is of practical advantage to temper for his readers the difficulties of moral transition by appealing to sanctions and ideas with which they are not wholly unfamiliar. So he gathers up from many sources the best that has been said on manners and on morality. The aim and standpoint are fundamentally Christian and religious, the material and the concrete instances come from whence they may. The dominant influence is the Word; it is the books of the moralists, the commonplaces of the schools, the thoroughfares of a great port, which largely supply the substance out of which is fashioned, under the Word's direction, the possible ideal of the Christian in the world.

[1] Plato, *Republic*, 537, *c*.

Perhaps in this Clement has really taken a line in true accordance with the real function of his religion. Sincere minds have been often troubled in recent years by the growing recognition of the indebtedness of Christianity to pre-existing teaching. That Jesus Himself was not independent of the ideas of His age; that Rabbinical moralists had said previously much that is of the highest value in the Sermon on the Mount; that in Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, there is much that we must recognise as kin and parallel to the fairest counsels of the New Testament, are hardly disputable statements for any who have ever looked seriously into the literature of the Origins of Christianity. Yet there is no real ground for concern, not at least unless we are wholly to isolate the religion of Jesus from the general moral progress of the world. What He left Himself was not so much a system as a spirit and a standpoint. His greatest achievement was to make vital truths already known in name. He wrote no book and prescribed no code of rules; His two sacred rites were adapted, not created, and the wholly elementary character of His society is at once the guarantee of the Church's spiritual freedom and the cause of its bitterest disputes.

In other words, Christianity does what Jesus did Himself, when it employs the conditions and material of any given age as the medium of its life. It may inspire Art without determining its canon. It may influence political life without being political. It may elevate a State without itself teaching any theory of government. It may utilise, select, appraise, and often be most truly operative when it is least obtrusively creative. In this lies the abundant answer to those who see in Clement an eclectic philosopher, but not a Christian. If he takes for his purpose what lies to hand, and accepts his environment as conditioning his work,

he does in Alexandria what Jesus had done in Galilee. Upon familiar teaching, accepted customs, and the varied phases of life as he knew and saw it, he places the impress of a religious ideal. The motive, the standard, the valuations are new, and under their influence old things and old ways acquire a fresh significance.

One or two other points may well arrest our attention, before we leave Clement's sketch of the Christian in the world. Perhaps the main impression left upon the mind by the *Pædagogus* is that the true Christian is also the true gentleman. We have the authority of an old dramatist[1] for going to the New Testament to find the picture of

"The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

We may contrast with this the following estimate of the teaching of one of the most kindly and cultivated writers of the time. A recent writer says of Plutarch's portrayal of Greek society, "There is to me in this, as in every other phase of Greek life which I have studied, an absence of the calmness and dignity which we require in the perfect gentleman."[2] What is adumbrated in the New Testament and what, upon the estimate above quoted, is missing in the Greek world generally, is given us with fuller characterisation in the *Pædagogus*. For, indeed, whenever we know a man of whom it can be said that he never forgets his self-respect; that in his home he is courteous even to servants; that he is sociable and yet has dignity and reserve; that in all his life there is a certain tone of simplicity, appropriateness, proportion; that he has attained to a certain ease and tranquillity of nature; that he is superior to anxiety over life's minor details; that nothing in his manners ever

[1] From Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Act V. Scene ii. The line is quoted in Hort and Mayor, p. lix.

[2] Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 347. See Bigg, *Church's Task under the Roman Empire* (particularly Lecture IV.), for a different view.

suggests the slavish mind ; that his look, his demeanour, the pace at which he walks, all denote an inward nobility of nature ; that he is devoid of all aggressive self-assertion ; that even in his appearance there is an evidence of sincerity—we have in such a character all the main external traits and tokens which denote the inward spirit of the gentleman.

Dignity, which the Romans and the Stoics so justly valued ; ease of mind and manner, and the Greek moderation of the "golden mean," are here combined in a Christian synthesis, and there is hardly any quality which to-day betrays true culture, not of the mind alone, but also of the character, which is not at least suggested in Clement's sketch. The Alexandrine father would have given his cordial assent to the Wykehamist motto "Manners makyth ye man" ; and, though Christianity is commonly regarded as having more serious business to accomplish than instruction in grace of manners or pleasantness of speech, still, where the deeper lessons are learned, there should be something fair and beautiful in exterior results. With Clement's portrayal of Christian manners we may compare the ways of the little Christian community so finely sketched in Pater's *Marius*, or contrast somewhat sadly the noisy and mannerless turbulence which has sometimes characterised the assemblies of Christian men. Gregory of Nazianzus reminds us that such scenes were not infrequent in Constantinople during his patriarchate,[1] and more modern gatherings under religious sanction have not invariably been blameless. Perhaps a different temper ruled in the School of Alexandria when Clement was at its head.

No doubt there is a defect in Clement's ideal, but it is

[1] See the account in Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i. 761 ; and Greg. Naz., *Carm.*, II., i. 17 ; (Migne, P. G., xxxvii. 1262).

a defect which runs through the greater part of Christian moral teaching, and which grows far more evident as we pass on to the monastic ages. It is the defect which occurs whenever restraint, prohibition, abstinence, the ascetic virtues, predominate over the more positive ideals of duty, service, activity, and love. Clement's readers or pupils are to draw the line, and abundant warnings, with typical illustrations of unpardonable excess, leave them in little doubt as to how the Christian ought not to live. They must not be extravagant, they must not be intemperate, they must not be vulgar, they must not tell unclean stories, nor spend too much time before the mirror in their dressing-rooms. Like all the moralists, from Plato and Juvenal on to Saint Jerome and some later apostles of the simple life, Clement often appears to protest too much.[1] He has moved a very long way from the frank Oriental delight with which the Book of Kings describes how "once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks" for a king pre-eminently blest.[2] Even from a modern standpoint it is difficult to see intrinsic harm in imported foods or cut flowers or in bathing in order to be clean.

But it is no justification, in Clement's eyes, of any given custom to say that it affords pleasure. At once he dreads the latent Epicureanism of the plea. He makes no allowance for the teaching of an Aristippus or a Goethe, that our moments of intense satisfaction carry with them an intrinsic right or claim. For the time he almost forgets the Greek instinct for the natural and the joyous things. Again, to beauty as such he is almost as severe as he is to pleasure. That colour and artistic carving and fineness of work and precious stones and the fairness of the "human form

[1] On this tendency in the moralists, see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, iii. 18 *sqq.*

[2] 1 Kings x. 22.

divine" are somehow among the things that God sees to be very good, is never with him a thought that carries weight. No doubt he suspected them with good reason. He could hardly rid them of their associations and judge them by themselves.

These various limitations or negations, while they never in the *Pædagogus* amount to actual asceticism—"Metriopathy" not "Apathy" is its keynote[1]—are still significant of his fundamental belief that to make the right denials is the important thing, and that the convert's first duty is to realise where he must refuse the standards and fashions of the world. Hence there is no insistence on the moral value of work, or on the use of our talents, five or one, or on social service, or on courage, or on active influence for good. He does not, of course, deny these things. He will often give us hints of the positive virtues, and prove that practical religion is by no means foreign to his thought.[2] But the bulk of his instruction is still suggestive of restraint rather than of achievement: wrong affections are to be remedied, old habits left, self-control acquired, moral infirmities healed.

Hence it comes that in the portion of his work in which place might have been found for much positive instruction in the Christian art of doing good, there is a certain want of proportion. A Christian, who had thoroughly assimilated the teaching of the *Pædagogus*, would have been free from vulgar faults and vices, and not without a certain grace and charm of disposition. But he would not have greatly contributed to the cause of the Kingdom by leadership, or by the assertion of principles, or by the strenuously active life. On the other hand, he would have died for his religion, and it is possible that

[1] On this distinction see Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and elsewhere.

[2] *E.g.* pp. 198, 236, 292–3.

this particular service was the greatest he could at that time render to his Master and his Faith.

It would be of much interest to know what effect the teaching of the *Pædagogus* had upon Clement's pupils. We would give much to follow half a dozen of them from his lectures back into their daily life ; to observe what measure of difference his spoken or written words effected in their attire, their home life, their manners in the streets, their intercourse with the world. The Church, in this part of Clement's task, seems to undertake for the first time, and with full consciousness of the obligation to do so, the duty of pleading for a wholesome simplicity and restraint, as against the luxury, the licence, the vulgar self-assertion of a society rich in material wealth, but often poor in ideals. It can hardly be claimed that Clement's work in this respect had been taken up and carried on to more perfect fulfilment by later generations of Christian moralists and preachers. No doubt the task has not been wholly neglected. The reaction from the corrupting pleasures and fashions of the age did result in Monasticism. Later on, Saint Francis took Poverty for his bride. There have been not a few instances in later times of such dignity and beauty of Christian temperament as we may read in John Evelyn's *Life of Mrs Godolphin* ; or of such studied and gracious simplicity as has been exemplified in the annals of the Society of Friends. That inward moral beauty, of which Clement had so much to say, has never been entirely wanting in Christian Society.

But there are grave counts on the other side. When monasteries and convents drew the more serious and earnest spirits from the world into seclusion, the rank and file of the Church's members continued without much scrutiny of conscience to enjoy such good things as were available, and ecclesiastical discipline, while to some extent it affected

the externals of conduct, rarely extended to the real inward springs of morality and devotion. Many a great ecclesiastic has contravened all the principles of the *Pædagogus*. The Church, in such ages as the Renaissance or the Restoration, has often found herself possessed of little moral influence, more affected by the temper and the fashions of the hour than strong for their guidance or control. Her own great possessions, her need of the means which the wealthy can supply, have often tied her hands and tongue in the days when the protest against luxury and vice has been most notoriously required. Hence it comes that the pages of Clement's treatise, with all their dependence on other writings and all their tediously protracted details, may still, in an age that is not entirely exempt from extravagance and the excessive love of pleasure, remind us of a duty which has not always been fulfilled. A Christian teacher may still have reason to plead for greater simplicity, for more restrained expenditure, for more real dignity, alike in the inward and outer life, for a greater desire to commit one's use of this world to the guidance and suggestions of the severe yet gentle Word. That the moralist may be eccentric and unreasonable, that he may magnify trivialities into vices, Clement's own treatise occasionally gives us warning. But its positive lesson is more prominent and valuable. The man who understood it knew how to live the Christian life in Alexandria. The whole tone of many a modern city would be raised and purified, if young men and young women had truer standards and clear ideals, a juster knowledge of what is morally and such grace of manners and of disposition held must always be manifest, when human trained in the school of Christ.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE AND HOME LIFE

On these subjects Clement has much to say. His remarks are often tedious, but they are sometimes extremely interesting. It has already been observed that he wrote a treatise on Marriage and that this treatise was possibly incorporated in the *Stromateis*,[1] though more probably it was a separate work now lost. To the life of the family in its various other aspects he makes many allusions. Its importance, alike for the ordinary believer[2] and for the Christian Gnostic,[3] is fully recognised. His pages contain, too, many incidental references, which show that for this very human theologian such subjects were frequently in mind.

Clement's interest in them was partly due to personal causes, but mainly occasioned by his dislike of two opposite tendencies at work in his environment. To speak first of he more personal reasons, we could wish he had given us der details of his own domestic life. "We do not even whether he had a wife."[4] Here, as for so much else ncerns his history, probability alone is left us; but of the probability is that he was a married man. eed one passage[5] which at first sight seems to definite information. Clement is discussing

ra, p. 201, and Appendix II.

[3] *E.g.* 874.

ch History, ii. 162.

[5] 287–8.

the lawfulness of signet rings for a Christian. A woman, he says, may have a ring of gold, not for adornment, but for the purpose of sealing up articles of value in the house. "It is well," he goes on, "that husbands should have confidence in their own wives and entrust the care of the house to them, for they are 'helpmeets' given them for this purpose. But should it be necessary *for us also* to put anything under seal for safety—since we may have public business to attend to, or some other affairs to transact in the country, and besides in many cases we are unmarried—then we, too, for this purpose only are allowed a signet ring." Clement seems to speak of husbands as distinct from wives; even they may need a ring. In "us also" he apparently includes himself among the married men. Later, as an afterthought, he recollects the bachelors. The implication, then, is that he was married. The exact interpretation of the line of his thought in the passage needs some little care. This seems the most probable rendering, and so we should have in it an argument for the existence of his wife.[1]

But even if this passage should be differently interpreted or deemed inclusive, there are a good many other references to married life, which certainly support the belief that it had formed a not unhappy part of Clement's own experience. His mention of the "two or three" who form the Christian home;[2] of the domestic occupations of winter evenings;[3]

[1] As the point is an interesting one and some nicety of interpretation is involved, it is well to quote Clement's actual words: *καλὸν μὲν οὖν ταῖς γαμεταῖς πεπιστευκότας ταῖς σφῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας τὴν οἰκουρίαν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν βοηθοῖς εἰς τοῦτο δεδομέναις. εἰ δὲ ἄρα δέοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐμπολιτευομένους καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν διοικουμένους πράξεις, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄνευ γυναικῶν γενομένους, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἀποσφραγίζεσθαί τινα, δίδωσιν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τοῦτο μόνον σημαντῆρα.* I take it (i.) that by *καὶ ἡμᾶς* Clement means husbands as distinct from wives, not merely men as distinct from women; (ii.) that unmarried men are later on included; and (iii.) that *πολλάκις ἄνευ γυναικῶν γενομένους* means "being in many cases unmarried men," not "being frequently absent from our wives."

[2] 541–2. [3] 219, 228.

of the untiring ministry of the wife in sickness ;[1] of the cares and burden of providing for a family's maintenance[2] —reminding us of Lord Bacon's remark, "The most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty"[3]—all suggest that the writer knew these things more intimately than the mere onlooker can ever do. And when he says that the Christian Gnostic had better marry, because the man without a home misses so much of the experience of life,[4] he would have laid himself open to not a little genial sarcasm from his friends or pupils, had he known nothing of such experience himself. It would have been like Epictetus, the celibate teacher, upbraiding Demonax because he had no wife.[5]

Many other such references might be quoted. The whole of the available evidence no doubt falls short of proof. But if all Clement's many and varied remarks on matrimony and affairs domestic are put together, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they proceed from one, who knew from experience that the gain of wife and child outweighs by large measure the risks and costs. Perhaps it was in part this influence which kept the human side of Clement's nature from being wholly absorbed in speculative thought, or withering up into the unsympathetic learning of the man who only knows his books.

There is another strain in Clement's writings on marriage, to which some reference should be made. He takes his readers at times into the most intimate details of the relationship of the sexes, which we should only feel it natural to discuss in a medical treatise. While he is never coarse, he is often unreservedly frank ; and though ancient writers could speak more freely on these matters than would be permissible in modern times, he is still himself aware that

[1] 504.
[2] 503, 509, 541, 573, 878.
[3] Essay, *Of Marriage and Single Life.*
[4] 874.
[5] Lucian, *Demonax*, 55.

his frankness may cause some surprise, and justifies it by the remark that, what God has made, a man may name and mention without disgrace.[1]

We may detect two motives at work in these passages. In the first place, Alexandria was, as we have seen, the greatest of the medical schools of the time. And Clement's frequent use of such medical terms, as occur also in the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, show that he had not been unaffected by this element in his environment.[2] When he discusses the growth of the embryo,[3] or the formation of milk in the lacteal glands,[4] or the sex propensities of the hare and the hyena,[5] what he principally displays is an extraordinary interest in the purely physiological aspects of the whole subject. So when he refers to the supposed tendency of beans to prevent conception,[6] or remarks upon other causes which may produce sterility,[7] or comments upon the unnatural use of drugs and instruments to destroy life in its earliest stages,[8] or speaks of the effect of summer and winter on the supply of milk in the female,[9] in each case what strikes the reader is Clement's considerable knowledge of a subject not properly his own. There is no unclean curiosity. Nor is the moral purpose always in his mind. But he is here, as ever, *πολυμαθής*, the man athirst for knowledge, betraying, among quaint allegorical interpretations[10] and much genuine religion, the same instinct for concrete realities, which existed earlier in Aristotle and has since characterised the modern man of

[1] 225.

[2] See Harnack, *Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*, 70 *sqq.*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VIII.; and Capitaine, *Die Moral des Cl. Al.*, 158–9 n.

[3] 127. [4] 121–2. [5] 220 *sqq.* [6] 521.

[7] 549. [8] 227. [9] 124.

[10] Did some of this gynæcological speculation come from his teachers? *Cp.* what the Elder said, 1001.

science. Had it been Clement's lot to be a physician instead of a theologian, his interest in his profession, in research rather than in practice, would have been genuine indeed.

But the scientific interest is not the only one to account for his plain speaking. The moral interest is at work as well. It is all "for the advantage of his hearers."[1] It is from this standpoint that he insists, as heathen moralists had done before him, that the physical relationship of marriage exists only for the procreation of children and must be exercised for that purpose alone;[2] that he reminds us how Democritus had called marriage "lesser epilepsy,"[3] and dwells in serious tone on the evil consequences, alike for men and for women, of the intemperate or perverted use of the functions of nature.[4] How far it is of moral gain to speak openly and frankly on these matters remains a much debated question. Clement's explicit language may claim Scripture, and, among the Anglicans, Jeremy Taylor for support. Perhaps what he felt it right to attempt in the lecture-room and the published book, is best done under modern conditions in the consulting-room of the doctor; here, again, the Church's influence may be greatest when it is most indirect.

Quite apart, however, from these more personal interests, Clement was compelled by external reasons to deal in some way with the marriage question. In the Jewish law, in spite of its Oriental subordination of the woman, an honourable ideal of married life had been authorised and enshrined. So, too, the Roman lady, in spite of the serious and menacing growth of the practice of divorce, was a noble and still extant type of womanhood. And if Greece[5] had

[1] 225. [2] 225, 543, 554–5. [3] 226–7. [4] 495.

[5] *Cp.* σιγὴ ἀρετὴ γυναικῶν ἐστιν, 203. It is the well-known sentiment of Thucydides, ii. 45.

given to married women less liberty, holding it their highest excellence to be little mentioned either for good or ill, and seeking only in the courtesan for the more brilliant qualities which were inappropriate in the lawful wife, still such characters as Andromache or Alcestis in literature, such actual marriages as those of Plutarch and of Herodes Atticus, prove that the highest possibilities of married life were here also not entirely without recognition. The institution of marriage was in each case honoured, sometimes more in theory and ideal than in practice, but its right and reasonableness were not attacked. In Clement's time, however, such an attack had been made from two very opposite points of view; on the one hand by those who advocated an entire freedom in matters of sex; on the other by those who in theory at least were the advocates of a complete celibacy. With each of these positions, more especially as they were held by various Gnostic schools, Clement felt bound to deal, and here, as when he was discussing luxury, his judgment and counsel on the whole are singularly sane and wise.

Carpocrates,[1] a Gnostic teacher of Alexandria, had lived there early in the reign of Hadrian. He had a son, Epiphanes, who died at the age of seventeen and was honoured as a God at Same in Cephallenia, his mother's birthplace. But before he died he wrote a famous book *On Justice*, maintaining the thesis that justice in God's order was community on equal terms. The heavens and the stars, the sunlight, were common to all, without distinction of rich and poor, wise man or fool, male or female, slave or free. It is just the proprietary rights of men that have destroyed the communion of the law. On this basis he argues against all restrictions on marriage: community on equal terms here must hold good, and human passion is nothing

[1] 511–4.

decree. So the school advocated what their modern representatives term "Free Love," and brought grave scandal on the Christian Name.[1] Marcellina introduced its teaching into Rome.[2] Irenæus in Lyons was quite familiar with its tenets and its literature. It carried to an extreme conclusion what some of the followers of Basilides, Nicolaus, and Prodicus, also advocated, sometimes using arguments from Scripture, *e.g.* "Give to every one that asketh of thee";[3] sometimes relying on the Stoic principle that sex relationships were among the things indifferent; but specially establishing itself on the Platonic Community of Women, which indeed was frequently misrepresented as justifying indiscriminate licence.[4]

These people made strange claims, asserting that their unrestrained habits were in reality mystical communion; boasting that, "as royal children," they could live exactly as they chose, and maintaining, on the doctrine of metempsychosis, that the soul must pass through every experience, ere it could obtain its final liberty and salvation.[5] Clement has little difficulty in proving that this teaching is subversive alike of the Law and of the Gospel, and that, if Christianity is in any sense a revelation, Carpocrates and his son are adversaries of God. He says they had misunderstood to, which was true, though he misses the point of their nderstanding. The scandal of extinguished lights and ful deeds, so often propagated to the discredit of the ns generally, he thinks may possibly be true in the this licentious sect. And, finally, he knew they sistent, for in spite of their bold theories they tion where they could, and perpetrated their cret.[6] He does not enter into any adequate ssion of this grave question, but he is

[2] Iren., i. 25, 6. [3] 523.
8. [5] 523, 525, *cp.* Iren., i. 31, 2. [6] 525.

entirely right in his argument that, whatever else such community might be, it certainly was not Christian. We are inclined indeed to wonder how such teaching was ever able to claim Christian sanction.

At the other extreme stood the adherents of a very different principle, among whose leaders was the famous Marcion. Tatian, the Assyrian, was another well-known member of this company. Julius Cassianus was a third. Sometimes they were known by the term "Encratites," but their teaching was maintained in various forms and never organised into one single school. With these ascetics marriage was entirely forbidden; they called it "fornication," "corruption," and other hard names. There is no doubt that this austere restraint was widely practised. Those who found it impossible to keep the rule had to resign their membership and went to live in another place. At any rate this actually happened in the case of Marcion's disciple Apelles.[1] The basis of the theory was a reasoned pessimism. It is one phase of the common Gnostic position that the world was the work of an inferior Creator, not of the supreme and good Deity; and Clement realised that a full discussion of this teaching could not possibly be limited to the question of marriage. It would run up into first principles,[2] so he characteristically defers its completer treatment till he should arrive at that portion of his undertaking.

Meantime, however, he makes his strong dissent from this teaching on marriage clear. Its adherents held the common doctrine of the essential evil of matter. They were in line with the Pythagorean and Neoplatonic movements towards restraint and self-suppression as the condition of spiritual attainment. They were fond of quoting a saying attributed to the Lord, who was said to have replied

[1] Tertullian, *De præs. hæret.*, 30.

[2] ἀρχαί, 516, 520.

to Salome's question, "How long shall death have power?" by the answer, "So long as you women bear."[1] The *Gospel according to the Egyptians* also helped them, for it contained another saying attributed to the Lord, to the effect that He was come "to destroy the works of the female sex."[2] So, too, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth" was interpreted as applying to parentage.[3] Sometimes these celibates claimed that they had already received the Resurrection and that the time for marriage was therefore past.[4] In Platonic fashion they held that all "genesis" was evil. Hence, the world being evil and the work of an evil power, the less men co-operate with this power, and the fewer children they bring into the sorrows and troubles of existence, the better. We must not "feed death." Given the premises, the conclusion no doubt followed, however little human nature in general might be disposed to accept it.

Probably, as Professor Gwatkin remarks,[5] the ascetic virtues of these teachers were as great and reasonable as those of the mediæval monks. They were a really more formidable foe to the institution of the family and the home than the Carpocratians, just because there was so good a chance of their persuading many people that their theory was right. Indeed, the perverted ecclesiastical sentiment, which held the entire repression of natural instincts to be an essential element in the highest morality, is already discernible in their teaching. Clement, as we shall see, is not without his leanings towards asceticism, but he will hold no parley with Marcion's enforced restraint. Readiest and most skilful of borrowers as he was himself, he still holds it a strong point in his reply to show that Marcion's pessimism was not original; Heraclitus, Empedocles, Euripides,

[1] 532. [2] 540. [3] 550. [4] 533.
[5] *Early Ch. Hist.*, ii. 67.

Plato (though not absolutely), and even Homer[1] in the well-known line,

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

had taught the evils of existence. This discovery of Marcion's "sources" is adduced, not without some little characteristic satisfaction on Clement's part, as evidence at once of his unacknowledged indebtedness and of his ignorance. The latter charge was hardly either fair or true.

Clement is on surer ground, however, when he argues that these celibate teachers are not consistent. If men are not to be "fruitful and multiply," by what right do they enjoy food and other blessings in this evil world?[2] Meat and drink were just as incompatible with the Resurrection as marriage; and among non-Christians—it is probably the Eastern ascetics he has in mind—there were instances of far more thorough-going abstinence to be found. And if all "genesis" be evil, did not the Lord share in this? does not the taint, too, lie upon His mother?[3] and will not the argument tell equally against the birth of the soul? He has no difficulty in giving a different interpretation to the words of the Lord on which the Marcionites relied; nor in showing that the unmarried life of Jesus was not to be taken as an example for all. Their theory involved an excessive abstinence; it was as much opposed to the divine order as the opposite extreme of the Carpocratians. Clement is too much of an optimist to realise the full moment of the problem with which Marcion was faced, but he is quite sufficiently conclusive in his contention that the Scriptures and Christianity gave no support to his views on marriage.

He thus wisely and deliberately rules out the two extremes of enforced celibacy and unrestricted licence. So the question is left open. There is no final order in favour

[1] 518. [2] 528, 533. [3] 558.

either of marriage or of the single state. The point remains in our hands for decision, and our decision must depend on age, circumstances, personal considerations, natural temperament, mutual compatibility, and the like.[1] Both states are good. Both have the divine blessing.[2] Both have their different opportunities of service.[3] The question, as he recognises, needs a good deal of consideration ; and, philosopher-like, he treats it from the standpoint of sober reason and Christian common sense, having little regard for the influence of feeling and emotion, though indeed he knew well how impotent were the strongest philosophic theories to override the claims of natural passion and the blood.[4] Yet religion, it is true, was to accomplish what had been impossible for philosophy.

Meantime, within the limits of Christian liberty, what is to be said on either side ? In the first place, what are the considerations which weigh with Clement in favour of the single life ? Chiefly these. In the background of all Clement's moral teaching there is a certain ascetic strain, which we have already recognised. On the whole it is not the predominant influence, and it is certainly not so in the case of marriage ; but it is always there. It makes him suspicious of all that belongs to the domain of sense, emotion, desire. It may be traced backwards to Platonism and the distrust of all that was material ; forwards to the Monastery and Simon Stylites on his pillar. It leads him to strange claims, as, for instance, that a wife is hardly different from a sister ;[5] and that in Christian marriage, while ἀγαπή is permissible, ἐπιθυμία must have no place.[6] It would have made the wedding of a Christian who had attained to Gnosis a very cold and rational proceeding, and occasionally it leads Clement to prefer the single life. Celibacy is, he says, a

[1] 502. [2] 555, 560. [3] 546.
[4] 503. [5] 536, 790. [6] 538.

gift.[1] It is the way of greater merit.[2] He contrasts the power to control desire, of which we are conscious, with the power not to desire at all, which latter and higher state can only come by the grace of God.[3] Moreover, on the common patristic interpretation, he believes the original sin of Eden to have been the anticipation of the time for marriage. This feeling was not peculiar to Clement. A certain repute, within the Church and in some quarters outside it, already attached to the unmarried state. So he feels what others felt, when he gives us occasional hints of a principle which developed later into the immoderate glorification of Virginity.

It was a lesser count against marriage that it involved so many cares. Democritus had taught this; so, too, Epicurus, with whom Clement for once agreed.[4] The decline of marriage among the Romans had existed since and before the rule of Augustus, and Clement's contemporary, Aulus Gellius, was giving currency to a common sentiment when he quoted a passage on its "molestia."[5] So its cares, its cost, its loss of leisure, the possible trials which may follow when, in Bacon's phrase, we give "hostages to Fortune" in the persons of wife and child, have frequent mention in Clement's chapters. They form no final argument, but they are a factor in the problem. He knows, too, the risk that certain forms of married love may fade and pass, when the years steal away a woman's beauty.[6] Thus Clement feels that undeniably a man may gain a certain spiritual freedom, if he is inwardly and outwardly exempt from the claims and distractions which come with marriage. But that on the whole he gains more than he loses, is not his contention ; and his arguments for marriage clearly outweigh what is said on the other side.

[1] 511. [2] 546. [3] 537. [4] 503.
[5] *Noctes Atticæ*, i. 6. [6] 228.

First of all, the end of marriage was the birth of children, and children, in Clement's eyes, were one of the good gifts of God. Again, on one of the rare occasions when he rises to a sense of citizenship, he writes that a man must marry for his country's good, must contribute his share to the completion of the universe, and co-operate with the creative, productive forces by which it is sustained.[1] So it is good to understand and imitate that deep mother-love which lies in the heart of Nature, the great originative power. Besides, the Scriptures, Law, Prophets, and Gospels alike, are in favour of marriage.[2] Plato agrees; and the poets have something to tell us of the blessings which come with a good wife. Even the Gnostic will learn by marriage,[3] and to shun it is in reality a form of cowardice,[4] let alone the fact that a bachelor's life is often dreary, so that the celibate usually ends in misanthropy: τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης οἴχεται, and this is indeed a loss.[5] And even at the risk of seeming to differ from the great Apostle, Clement will not admit that there is any final incompatibility between a man caring for the things of the Lord, and desiring to please his wife. May not a married man do both? he asks, not without indignation and the suspicion of a personal interest in his claim.[6]

It is by arguments of this kind that Clement is led to feel that it is generally well for a Christian man to marry. But the whole case does not consist in argument. Here and there, in a chance phrase or a few consecutive sentences, there emerge the outlines of the Christian Home. It is so pleasant and fair a picture, that the trouble of seeking out and reconstructing these fragmentary hints is well repaid, when it becomes possible to see, by piecing them together, what lessons and ideals Christianity had taught to fathers,

[1] 504, *cp.* 220, 222, 224, 541. [2] 506, 544, 552. [3] 874. [4] 505.
[5] 541. [6] 551. But he recognises the other view, 236.

mothers, children, slaves, in more than one household in Alexandria.

Pre-eminently it is a home-life founded on religion. The concord and union of marriage depends on God, and its sanctity is to be guarded, just as scrupulously as one would guard a sacred image from any taint.[1] To wake from sleep is to realise the presence of the Lord. When the evening meal is over, there is blessing and thanksgiving for the gifts of God and for the passing of another day.[2] "Above all, before we fall asleep, it is right to thank God for the goodness and loving-kindness we have enjoyed, so that we may pass to our rest in a holy frame of mind."[3] The family meal of such a household is a sort of sacrament, a true "Agape," rather than a banquet.[4] It is "in the Lord" that the children are born and reared and trained.[5] Such a home forms the "two or three," who gather together in the name of Christ.[6] So the influence of religion is felt in every relationship, and in every hour of the day, and out of this there grows a beautiful and serious temper of respect and courtesy from each towards all. There is such honour from the husband to the wife,[7] from the children to their elders:[8] in some sense Christian masters deal with slaves as with their equals.[9] Yet there is no unnatural solemnity of religion. There are jests and laughter in such a home, and a father will poke fun at a shy, silent boy by referring to him as "my son there who is for ever talking."[10] We see such a family gathered round the lamp when the winter days are growing short, the man with his books, the wife with her spinning, each with his proper occupation.[11] We see them again, on their way to church, with their becoming attire, their unobtrusive bearing, their restraint of speech;[12] or yet

[1] 506, 542. [2] 216. [3] 194, *cp.* 861. [4] 167.
[5] 555. [6] 542. [7] 228. [8] 830.
[9] 307. [10] 202. [11] 219. [12] 300.

again there is the quaint picture of the day when the wife and mother has brought out the new clothes from her home-made stores, and there is a general sense of delight and pride on the occasion, "children rejoicing in their mother, the husband in his wife, she in them both, and all in God."[1]

Such a household is simple in its ways. There are few slaves. Its watchwords are economy and independence,[2] though the members share the burdens readily enough. The wife will sit by the side of a sick husband; the children are the stay and support of their parents in old age;[3] and we may be sure that the sick slave does not receive less attention from a Christian than from a pagan mistress.[4] It is into a very gracious and happy atmosphere that Clement brings us by these scattered hints. There is piety, simplicity, concord, love. We may not, of course, say how often such an ideal was fully realised. No doubt the saints had their limitations then as now, and little roots of bitterness must have not infrequently marred the perfection. But the ideal is there, and the ages have added singularly little to its beauty. The primitive idea of the Church within the house must have often come to pass, and human life can show us few things that are more fair.

More in detail it may now be worth while to consider Clement's opinions in regard to womanhood, children, and the slave. The teaching of Christianity on these relationships can claim no entire originality, and Clement could find much in the general tendencies of his time to accord with his desire to see the fullest possible opportunity of development given even to the humblest members of the Christian household.

It is true, for example, that the new religion had much

[1] 292–3. [2] 274, 277. [3] 504.

[4] ὃς ἂν κάμνῃ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτου σοι ἐπιμελητέον, Xenophon, *Œconomica*, vii. *Cp.* Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 260. Lecky, *European Morals*, i. 305 *sqq.*

to offer to women, and that women have been in the main more drawn than men to the Christian ideal. But the position of women in the world that Clement knew was very far removed from that which falls to them in Oriental countries, very different even from the old conception of the Roman matron, whose interests were strictly limited to her home. In the highest places of the State the influence of women had been considerable since the days when Livia, Augustus' consort, was known as "Ulysses in woman's dress."[1] The wives of provincial governors were important ladies and often troublesome by their extravagance.[2] And Clement's own age was already familiar with one of the most remarkable groups of women who ever influenced the high politics of an Empire. Julia Domna, the Syrian princess who was married to Severus, her sister Julia Mœsa, her two nieces, Julia Soæmias and Julia Mammæa, were indeed a notable company. For fifty years their influence, alike in state affairs, in morals, and in religion, was a striking example of feminine achievement. It was the opening of a period of which it has been said, "Le iiie siècle semble être par excellence dans l'antiquité le siècle de la femme païenne, intelligente, ayant conscience de sa valeur et de sa puissance, aspirant au gouvernement de la chose publique comme à l'empire des lettres, curieuse de tous les problèmes et avide d'une foi renouvelée, entourée tout ensemble d'adorateurs et de savants."[3]

The philosophers, too, were ever ready to claim for women their share in intellectual culture.[4] Porphyry married a widow with five children because of her serious

[1] She was "Ulixes stolatus," Sueton., *Caligula*, 23.
[2] See Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, i. 441.
[3] J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, 192.
[4] See references in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, i. 447 *sqq.*

interest in philosophy. Clement himself, in his earlier years in Athens, may have met the wife of Herodes Atticus, "the light of his house," as this beneficent patron of arts and letters described her, when death brought their union to an end. The epitaphs, as Friedländer remarks,[1] give us a higher view of pagan womanhood and correct the censures of sermons and of satires. Nor is it a poor or an unpleasing standard of married life which comes to light, when Seneca or Plutarch write to console their wives on the death of a son, or of a little daughter two years old.[2]

To this extent, then, the emancipation of womanhood was already attained, before Christian influences came in. And Clement, who has a high idea of the possibilities of a woman's life, is not slow to appeal to noble examples in the past. Women as well as men may attain to "perfection,"[3] and he quotes in proof a catalogue of brave deeds. We are reminded of Judith and of Esther, of the modesty of Theano, the Pythagorean, of Atlantæa's fleetness, of Alcestis' devotion, of the culture and intellect of a large company, in which even Aspasia and Sappho find mention. Then follows the simplicity of Sarah, who made cakes, and a reference to the domestic ministries of Nausicaa in the *Odyssey*. "One aim, one end," he says, "is assigned to man and to woman."[4] There is no essential difference between excellence of character in a woman and in a man.[5] Both may live the Christian life; both may rise, if the times demand, to martyrdom;[6] both may apprehend the higher teaching of religion (this is what he means by "philosophise"); both, in things of the spirit, may be comrades and true equals, for the differences of sex are

[1] *Op. cit.*, i. 464.

[2] Seneca, *Ad Marciam de consolatione*; Plutarch, *Consolatio ad uxorem*.

[3] 617. [4] 622. [5] 103. [6] 590.

physical alone. Perhaps, like his master Plato, Clement somewhat underrates the differences, and fails to see that the two natures have each something distinctive to contribute to human well-being. But, this apart, it is sufficiently evident that his standard and ideal for women is a high one. He makes great claims for Christian womanhood at its best, and yet there are certain reservations, which meet us from time to time and must be recognised.

There is, of course, the obvious distinction that, for practical purposes, it is in the home that woman has her special sphere. The care of the house is hers. Food and clothing are her peculiar business.[1] Within doors she ministers to the wants of the family. Substantially Clement would have accepted the catalogue of a wife's duties as Xenophon gave it in his *Economics*.[2] These cares and claims, added to the fact that, as he thinks, a woman is more easily tempted to sin than man,[3] and that he is specially fearful of any parade, display or want of taste on a woman's part, lead Clement sometimes to take a more limited view of her vocation. It is best for her to stay at home.[4] Silence, he says, in the old Greek strain, is woman's virtue. So he seems to revert from the higher, fuller ideal of the wife who shares all the interests that are possible for men, to the narrower conception of the subordinate "helpmeet," whose household is her world. Even within these limits it is, of course, still possible to find the care and devotion of the mother for her children;[5] nor must we forget that Clement was familiar with such conceptions as those of the "Higher Femininity,"[6] and of motherhood as found in God.[7]

Sometimes again he quotes the Pauline view: "The

[1] 253, 283. [2] vii.–ix. [3] 187. [4] 506.
[5] 110. [6] ἡ ἄνω θηλεία, 985. [7] 724, 956.

head of the woman is the man": "Wives, be subject to your own husbands";[1] or admits that on the whole the man's powers do exceed the woman's,[2]—though we hear considerably less of the subjection of women and far more of the higher possibilities of their nature in Clement than in Saint Paul. While the Alexandrine father is very exacting towards Christian womanhood and would place it beyond reach of every charge of immodesty, extravagance, vulgarity, and display, he has also claimed for it a full and honourable share in those high spiritual interests, which were to him of supreme account. Here undoubtedly he is of the West, not of the East. In Clement Christianity sanctions all the best that had previously been claimed for womanhood, and lays special stress on those qualities of purity and domestic love which are so intimately connected with its message and ideals.

Clement has naturally less to say on the subject of Childhood. But he says quite enough to show that, like the Lord Himself, he felt the attraction of its innocence and the moral beauty of our unspoiled years. In all its stages the young life with him is a sacred thing. Therefore he protests against the various means by which it is destroyed before birth;[3] and, like the Fathers generally, denounces the exposure of children by their parents, when for poverty or for any other reason they were not desired to live.[4] Even those untimely born, whose independent existence here had never been secured, were believed to be the objects of special care in another world.[5] Humanity, in Clement's view of the divine scheme of education, is under the tutelage of the Word. We are the scholars, children, nurslings of the gentle Instructor: the term Παιδάγωγος implies παῖδες as his charge. At considerable

[1] 308, 591. [2] 592. [3] 227. [4] 271, 477. [5] 1000.

length Clement is concerned to justify this terminology, and to maintain, as against the Gnostics, that such spiritual childhood implies no necessary immaturity, but is compatible with even the highest stages of the Christian life.[1] So he is led to play upon the various terms for this relationship. We are the "lambs," the "nestlings," the "colts" of the Lord; or "God's babes," as he says in another passage, lingering over the phraseology with a sort of affection for its associations.

Significant, too, is the long list of New Testament passages which he quotes one after the other in praise of childhood. The Lord loved to address his full-grown followers as children. The children playing in the market-place, the children who waved the green boughs at the triumphal entry, the children who were brought to Jesus for a blessing, together with the little solitary child, who was once set in the midst to teach the Apostles a needed lesson, are all summoned to defend their good name and to prove how humanity had found the gift of unaging youth in Christ. He is quite ready to forget the imperfections of childhood for the sake of its simplicity. Thus, in a passage incidentally occasioned by the argument, he reveals to us a beautiful ideal of the Age of Innocence, which with Clement can hardly have been other than a frequent subject of affectionate meditation. True, he knows the other side of the picture. Young men and maidens need care and many warnings. In our young days silence is safest,[2] and obedience must be learned.[3] Occasionally, with a vigorous symbolism, our teachers must take us literally by the ears.[4]

Much is said about the care and anxiety which children in the home involve. Trial may come into a man's life through his children.[5] Euripides and other poets

[1] 104 *sqq.* [2] 203. [3] 308. [4] 652. [5] 874.

had spoken truly enough of the sorrows of parents.[1] But he never lets these thoughts get the mastery. He never brings himself to the mood in which Tertullian, his contemporary, spoke of the "bitter pleasure" of having children.[2] Rather, the training of his son in the Lord is one of the things in life for which the true Gnostic thanks his God.[3] The childless life is at least as great a burden as the provision for children's wants.[4] The loss of children is one of our heaviest sorrows[5]—"naturale desiderium," said Seneca, touching the same human chord—and the love of parents is a true type of the love of God Himself.[6] So he leaves us with many tender and gracious thoughts on childhood. He was fond, it may be noticed, of thinking of the books he wrote as the children of his mind.[7]

The world already knew something of the appeal and charm of childhood from the dramatists, and had read in Homer of Andromache and her babe. All the pathos of a life cut off before maturity had already been expressed in Vergil's "Tu Marcellus eris." Caracalla, Clement's younger contemporary, not perhaps the most humane of the Cæsars, was known to detest the traffic in the lives of exposed children.[8] So, here again, Christianity had no monopoly. Outside the Church, the world had already felt that childhood was a sacred thing. Yet something had been undoubtedly added. The sanctity of innocence had been made more clear. "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven," quotes Clement. "Unto us a child is born." "O mighty God, O perfect Child," he cries in ecstasy.[9] It had made a difference that Mary had borne her Son.

[1] 520. [2] *Ad uxor.*, i. 5, "Liberorum amarissima voluptas." [3] 880. [4] 541. [5] 505. Seneca, *Ad Marciam*, 7. [6] 110. [7] 316. [8] Lecky, *Hist. Eur. Mor.*, ii. 30. [9] 112, 953.

The question of Slavery is nowhere discussed at any length by Clement. Indeed, properly speaking, the "question" had not as yet been raised at all. The slave was there. He was a part of the order of ancient society. The whole social and economic fabric would have fallen to pieces without him. So Saint Paul had sent back Onesimus to Philemon, in spite of the fact that the Apostle held principles which were ultimately to prove incompatible with slavery, and believed that in Christ Jesus there was neither bond nor free. Clement's attitude, so far as it is defined, coincides with that of the Apostle, and of the Church generally for the first three centuries. He accepts slavery as a fact. There is no protest, no hint that it is unchristian. The management of slaves is a part of normal domestic life.[1] The Christian household may have fewer slaves because of its simpler order, but it cannot go on without them. Even in such an establishment slaves cannot always be trusted, and will need rebuke from time to time.[2] Clement would have been the last of men to suggest any violent interference with the social order. He does not even, like Saint Chrysostom,[3] tell the rich they ought to liberate their slaves, nor does he mention any such common fund for their manumission in Alexandria as is known to have existed elsewhere for upwards of a century before his date.[4] In the advanced stages of Christian attainment Clement regards the ministrations of slaves as still required by the Gnostic,[5] wherein it might be said that he had fallen below the standard and ideal of Philo's treatise *On the Contemplative Life*.[6]

It is only when we come to the internal aspects of the

[1] 278. [2] 287, 307. [3] See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 326.
[4] Ignatius, *Ad Polycarp.*, 4. [5] 874.
[6] *De vit. cont.*, 9. διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνδραπόδων, ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων ἢ δούλων κτῆσιν εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας γεγέννηκεν κ.τ.λ.

relationship that the difference made by Christianity becomes apparent. Slaves, too, had their share in the divine education of humanity.[1] They had the same natures and the same virtues as the masters by whom they were bought or sold.[2] They must not be used with violence, nor treated as mere beasts of burden, for the same God is Lord alike of bond and free.[3] The relations between slaves and their masters do not depend merely on force or legal right; a moral element has entered in.[4] The slave counts for something, so that a man will not kiss his wife in their presence, any more than in that of his children. Finally, a Christian slave in the household of a heathen master would be loyal to his faith at any cost. There might be opposition, threats of punishment, at last even the martyr's end; but, after all, that would be to enter into the true life by means of death.[5] So Clement asserts a great principle and possibility. He had known himself many instances of such triumphant fidelity; while in Lyons Blandina had already borne her testimony, and Felicitas was soon to do the like in Africa.

These references to slavery are not numerous in Clement's pages, and he can claim no sort of originality in his occasional mention of the subject. But he says enough to make it clear that here also he felt that Christianity had something more to add. The tendencies of the age, in spite of all the continued horrors of the arena, were in the direction of humanity. An increasing recognition was given to the claims of the individual life.[6] Already Seneca had put in his plea, that the dignity of man's nature should be recognised even in the slave. Already the Emperors had been influenced in the same direction,

[1] 287. [2] 590. [3] 296, 307. [4] 302, 620. [5] 594.

[6] See, among other authorities, Lecky, *Hist. of Eur. Morals*, i. 300–8; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 317 *sqq.*; Bigg, *Origins*, 501.

Claudius showing his disapproval of the cruelty which allowed sick slaves to be left in the street to die, and Hadrian passing sentence of forty years' exile on a great lady for ill treatment of these human chattels. Mithraism, too, was already finding the slave a place in its attractive system; indeed, it has been seriously questioned, whether its attitude in this regard was not more liberal and humane than that of Christianity. So there was movement, gradual and widespread, though no one spoke as yet about emancipation as a general duty. Freedom came in due time by the growth of the inward spirit, and Clement's evidence contributes something to our knowledge of this growth. The stories of the Congo and Putumayo, and the Negro problem in the West, remind us how far we are from the complete attainment of the Christian ideal and from the final solution of a problem, which was just beginning to receive recognition when Clement wrote his books and Potamiæna suffered martyrdom for her faith.

It is thus sufficiently clear that all Clement's sympathies are with those better influences, which were already tending to give its distinctive grace and character to the Christian home. Yet he is no more than able, than Saint Paul before him had been able, to disregard particular conditions, which were sure to arise from time to time, and to rob the picture of some of its moral beauty. What of Divorce? what of Second Marriages? what of the household that was divided by differences of religion? On each of these matters he has something to say.

There is no full discussion of divorce. Outside, in the great world, it was, of course, common. "Repudium vero jam et votum est," said Tertullian.[1] Cases were on record of a lady who, in five years, had been married to eight husbands, and of a man who celebrated his twenty-first wedding-day

[1] *Apol.*, 6.

with a bride who had gone through the ceremony two-and-twenty times before.[1] As yet, however, these things did not seriously concern the Church. The sense of separation from the world, and the recognition that in these matters a higher standard was binding, were still strong enough to ensure the sanctity of marriage so fully, that divorce among Christians was hardly a practical issue. Clement could not, however, treat of marriage without some reference to the conditions of its dissolution. More particularly, the regulations of the Mosaic Law, and the remarks of the Lord in regard to them, are the occasion of his comments.[2]

He has, of course, no doubt that, in general, Jesus forbade divorce. Equally clear is his recognition that, for the one reason of *πορνεία*, an exception was made. What he understands by this term is misconduct on the wife's part after marriage. Several passages make it evident that he understood the word in this sense.[3] He does not allow its primary meaning to be dissipated into "idolatry" or other allegorical interpretations, though he was quite familiar with this use of it.[4] Nor does he so extend it as to cover other offences which might be held of equal culpability; like Origen, for example, who thought it worse for a wife to sell her husband's property than to commit adultery.[5] Clement's view is the plain one, that the passages in Saint Matthew imply our Lord's recognition of the legitimacy of divorce in the single case of unfaithfulness after marriage. It does not come within his province to ask the further

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, ii. 307.

[2] 506–7, 532–3.

[3] *πορνεύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός*, 547. *ἡ πορνεία ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς γάμου εἰς τοὺς πολλούς ἐστιν ἔκπτωσις*, 552. *ἢ πόρνην τις ἐρεῖ τὴν πάρθενον πρὶν ἢ γῆμαι*; 561. *Cp.* Bishop Creighton's remark, "The interpretation of *πορνεία* as prenuptial unchastity will not do," *Life and Letters*, ii. 68.

[4] It might, *e.g.*, be taken as including *φιληδονία*, *φιλαργυρία*, *εἰδωλολατρεία*, 877.

[5] *Hom. in Matt.*, quoted by Bingham, *Antiquities*, xxii., v., § 2.

question, as to whether the first Gospel records accurately the teaching of the Lord.

He knows of no other sufficient cause for dissolving the bond. It is noteworthy—a relic clearly of the teaching of the Old Testament—that Clement throughout thinks more of the woman's sin than of the man's. In theory he would have been in sympathy with the common complaint of the Fathers, that the Law in this matter dealt very unfairly with the woman.[1] But he leaves, none the less, the impression that what he chiefly had in mind was the woman's frailty. As to the right of the innocent party to remarry, Clement seems to hesitate. In one passage he appears to regard such a course as definitely forbidden,[2] in another as clearly permitted by the Lord.[3] His uncertainty anticipated the common attitude of the Fathers on this matter ; indeed, the division of opinion has lasted on to modern times. It is curious that the rigorous Tertullian is less strict here than his liberal contemporary.[4] The right of the innocent to remarry is clearly taught by the Carthaginian Father. We must not, however, over-emphasise Clement's occasional references to divorce. It is evident that other evils and errors in regard to marriage were more rife. Hence he had no occasion to give a full discussion or a considered opinion on the terms of its dissolution and on the rights of the separated parties. The strictness of the Jewish law and the purity of the Jewish family life were here a legacy of great value to the Christian Church.

Much more in debate was the question of Second Marriages, after the other party's death. This was a living issue and much discussed, in spite of plain counsel from so great an authority as Saint Paul. Roman sentiment had always honoured the wife whose loyalty and affection for

[1] Bingham, *op. cit.*, xxii., v. 3 ; Lecky, *op. cit.*, ii. 346.
[2] 506. [3] 534. [4] *Ad uxor.*, ii. 1 ; *Adv. Marcion.*, iv. 34.

her husband did not terminate with his death.[1] "Univira," "Uno contenta marito," were terms of high commendation. This feeling passed over into Christianity, but it acquired a more ascetic character in so doing, and, from Saint Paul onwards, Christian writers regard a second marriage as evidence of an uncontrolled nature, the only other motive that occurred to Tertullian being the desire of a widow for the greater luxury which remarriage might secure.[2] So the common attitude was to admit the strict legality of second marriage, but to regard it with strong disapproval. Tertullian in this matter was as liberal as anyone, till he left the Church, but Athenagoras called it "decent adultery."[3] The Montanists naturally condemned it outright, and the Council of Nicæa found it needful to assert that the remarried were not necessarily unworthy of Christian fellowship.[4]

Clement cannot avoid the admission that it was tolerated by Saint Paul; but he finds a certain honourable dignity in the single union, regards it as desirable for men as well as for women, and speaks of prestige in heaven as attaching to those who do not go beyond it.[5] Once, when speaking of the Christian right to marry, he adds, as if in haste to explain himself, "I mean a first marriage."[6] So he blames those whose inclination leads them to a second union, and records the common opinion that widowhood was an estate even more honourable than virginity.[7] There is a certain ambiguity in some of the terms used in these discussions. "Monogamy," for example, may mean one marriage and no more, or one marriage till death dissolves it and makes a further single union lawful. "The husband of one wife" is similarly debatable. In all Clement says on the subject there is little

[1] Bigg, *Church's Task*, 102–3; Lecky, *op. cit.*, ii. 324–5.
[2] *Ad uxor.*, i. 4.
[3] *Apol.*, 33. [4] Can., viii., διγάμοις κοινωνεῖν.
[5] 548; *cp.* 511, τὴν περὶ τὸν ἕνα γάμον σεμνότητα θαυμάζομεν.
[6] 544. [7] 558.

originality or independent judgment. He reflects and expresses the common opinion of the orthodox, and some will regret that the ascetic strain in his temperament seems to have robbed him in this respect of those broader human sympathies, which elsewhere are so much in evidence. It is one instance out of many in which Christianity fought against the evil of the world without adequate discrimination.

Yet another problem of home-life arose when the wife of a heathen became a convert to Christianity. Such cases had not been unknown in Apostolic times.[1] They must have been very frequent in days when the Church was growing as rapidly as it did in the last quarter of the second century, and when women formed so considerable a proportion of its membership. Tertullian affords us an interesting glimpse into the difficulties, which at once arose in such a divided household.[2] The Christian wife might wish to observe a fast or a "station," to take part in a procession to the Church, to visit the sick, to keep the Easter vigil, or to kiss some imprisoned martyr's chains. Or a brother in the faith might arrive and look for hospitality. There was the Sacrament to be taken secretly, the sign of the Cross to be made before seeking rest in sleep. At every turn her pagan husband was a difficulty. He would require his wife's presence at the baths, or insist on some domestic business being discharged, or arrange a banquet for an inconvenient day. In any case he would become acquainted with all that the Christians guarded in jealous secrecy from the curiosity and desecration of the world outside. Perhaps we can hardly feel surprised that the husband did not always welcome the Christian brother who wanted entertainment. We must allow that there is no attempt made to view things from the pagan standpoint.

[1] "If he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him," 1 Cor. vii. 13.
[2] *Ad uxor.*, ii. 4.

There is no generous recognition of the fact that occasionally these unconverted husbands were very long-suffering, and that the law would sometimes help the wife in her struggle for religious independence.

The situation under such conditions was a delicate one, and Clement was familiar with the problem. He was not entirely unacquainted with homes in which it was the wife's reluctance to break with Paganism that proved an obstacle to her husband's faith,[1] but the difficulty is mainly regarded from the standpoint of the converted wife, and he gives her sympathetic and wise advice. Her first endeavour must be to win her husband over; she will desire him to share what she has found, and the remedy for the harsh treatment she may receive at home will lie first with her powers of persuasion and good sense.[2] These, after all, may fail; and then there remains the second course of obeying her husband in all things where honour and religion are not involved, and leading, so far as frail humanity allows, the sinless, blameless life, by his side though without his aid. Finally, if things grow worse and there is menace, danger, hostility, still the Christian wife will not fail in her higher allegiance. Whether living in so sore a state of trial, or whether dying at last the martyr's death, she knows that God is her comrade and her helper. Her task is to be modest and womanly and to do the right; her aim, to fulfil the will of God. It is an appreciative sketch of a high and beautiful character in a difficult situation. Clement is more fair than Tertullian to the pagan husband, though he knows well how much it meant to a wife to have her husband's encouragement in the fight of faith;[3] how hard sometimes was the single-handed battle in an unsympathetic home. It is in such cases that we come into intimate acquaintance with the working out of Christianity. Past experience might well

[1] 948. [2] 620, 622. [3] 869.

here be of service to those whose work lies in the modern mission field. What an occasion, too, for spiritual tact, and even for the better sort of casuistry, seems to present itself when the claims of home-life come into competition with the claims of Christ and Creed.

The general impression which results from Clement's remarks on Marriage and Home-life is that Christianity was here exercising a high and elevating influence, and that Clement personally held well-grounded views and a noble ideal. We must not blame him, if in treating of these subjects he sometimes betrays the defects of his qualities, and does not wholly escape the limitations of his age. We shall not underestimate the merits and interest of his treatment of this subject if, in conclusion, we point out one or two of his omissions. They are symptomatic and characteristic.

Little is said about the home from the civic or political point of view. It is not wholly ignored. Men are to marry for their country's sake: those who refuse will "bring the state to ruin."[1] So far he does recognise the duties of citizenship, but his interest here is only slight. What he cares about is individualistic piety, the jealous watch over personal conduct, the entire loyalty of man or woman to the true standard of holiness and purity. So his attitude differs widely from that of Plato and Aristotle, with whom the whole subject is approached from the standpoint of the community. They knew and felt how great an influence, for good or ill, the Family must inevitably exert upon the State. Clement has no such interest or concern. He does not feel that the Empire is the Christian's business: ὅτε χοϊκοὶ ἦμεν, Καίσαρος ἦμεν,[2] and it is difficult to think that he would have been greatly distressed by falling statistics of population, had they been available. Much, no doubt, may be said to excuse or justify this

[1] 504-5. [2] 995.

attitude. In particular, the Imperial State itself had largely contributed to render it the only one possible for the Christian. It is not the less true that we have here, in its earlier stages, a tendency which for many centuries was to facilitate the refusal of the most serious and religious part of the community to afford society the advantage of their legitimate offspring. Something is always wrong when personal piety conflicts with civic obligation. Given his temperament and his time, we shall hardly be able to criticise Clement severely for this phase of incivism. But it is right that we should notice it.

So, too, there is no suggestion in Clement of the romantic or poetical side of love. The maiden who said, "About marriage you had better speak to my mother,"[1] was no doubt eminently moral; and, since daughters were married as young as thirteen or fourteen years of age, it was naturally inevitable that the arrangements should rest largely in the parents' hands. Still, the saying is significant. It reminds us that in ancient days there was little honourable courtship. The *Pædagogus* has no advice for Christian lovers, and the distinction between the "Amor" or ἔρως of the heathen world, and the "Caritas" or ἀγάπη of the New Testament, was so sharply drawn that it left no recognition for the gentler, tenderer feelings of young men and maidens in the days when love begins his tale. Man of letters as he was, Clement could hardly have appreciated the poetry of Sophocles' great chorus,

Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν,

or the lines of Lucretius addressed to Venus,

"Æneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas";

even the idylls of Theocritus, or the story of Cupid and Psyche, so beautifully told by his contemporary Apuleius,

[1] 523–4.

would hardly have appealed to him by their romantic charm. The fact is that, like many other Christian writers, Clement thought too much about the physical aspects of marriage. It is the penalty he pays to the coarseness and immorality of heathen society, that, even when he is most strongly protesting against these things, he cannot really escape their influence upon his thought. We must not criticise him as though the age of chivalry had already dawned. Nor must we forget all that he says with great sympathy and appreciation about Christian married life. It remains, that he has left quite unrecognised the glamour and emotion and idealism of love, which, since the days of Sappho and the Song of Songs, have made it the special theme of the poets. Clement knew all about Helen, and must have heard in Alexandria many a story of Cleopatra. He knew also the devoted Christian wife, and gentle girls who could face martyrdom for Christ. But there is nothing between. The other types of womanhood are neither described nor appreciated. Emotion is disciplined and restricted, but as yet it is not consecrated.

Finally, Clement undoubtedly falls short of that higher Christian teaching, which recognises a mystical and sacramental character in the ordinance of Holy Matrimony. He knows, indeed, the practical necessity of the physical, material medium for the realisation of the spiritual life.[1] He knows, too, the beautiful symbolism which sees in the Church the Bride of Christ.[2] But he never allows these conceptions to carry him far. He does not approximate to the teaching of Origen, his great pupil, on the "Song of Songs," nor to Saint Bernard's mystical sermons on the same subject. The Platonic antithesis between matter and spirit is ever with him and holds him back, so that he does not rise to the full Christian conception of the Body as the

[1] 559. [2] 544.

Spirit's shrine. Nervously apprehensive of all that could be given a hedonistic tendency, he regards the ideal wife as little different from a sister, and allows only the cold, passionless union of the reason to souls that are advanced in the higher life. So his ideal misses much that the sacramental principle secures. He does not recognise how all inward and spiritual realities need, in the present stage of human development, the things which may be touched and seen and handled for their expression and appropriation ; nor does he fully allow that there is nothing so entirely material that it may not become the instrument and medium of a higher spiritual grace. The same cause, as we shall see, underlies his docetic tendencies. His picture of married life possesses a true and spiritual beauty. There is all the charm of sobriety, of piety, of love, in his ideal of the Christian Home. Undoubtedly he marks here an advance upon even the best of Paganism, and we should be ungrateful if we did not recognise the value of his teaching. But there were further stages yet for Christian thought to reach.

CHAPTER X

A SERMON ON RICHES

From the days of its origin the Christian Church had always found place within its membership for a relatively rich minority. However prominent an element in its mission might be the preaching of the Gospel to the poor, it had never either in theory or in practice excluded those who had a larger share of this world's goods. Women of substance had ministered to the Master's needs. Men like Matthew and Zacchæus, unpopular because of the system under which their money had been made, were numbered among his friends. It was the wealthy Arimathean Joseph who had afforded to the dead body of Jesus a resting-place in his own private tomb. Moreover, Jesus had deliberately taught that the Mammon of unrighteousness might be used for spiritual ends. In his parables the man of five talents contrasts favourably with the man who has only one ; and a rich, if somewhat arbitrary, employer of labour is made to represent the supreme Taskmaster. Barnabas had property in Cyprus, Levite though he was. Lydia of Thyatira was engaged in a singularly lucrative business. There were people in Philippi who could supply Saint Paul's wants. There were people in Corinth who could send substantial help to the poor saints in Jerusalem. Both the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle of Saint James make the combination of rich and poor within the Church sufficiently

evident; and Harnack reminds us that the saying in the fourth Gospel, "The poor always ye have with you," has a like implication. Without going beyond the period for which the New Testament is evidence, we can discern clearly enough the existence of this relatively rich minority. Substantially the facts remained the same for the first two centuries, though the numbers of the wealthy might decline in days of persecution and tend to rise when the Churches were at rest.

Nevertheless, the position of these well-to-do Christians may well have had its drawbacks. Those who were most sincere must have had their misgivings. Those who were half-hearted may often have wondered, in the spirit of Ananias, what portion of their possessions they could still deal with as their own. For, after all, the Master Himself had been a poor man. He had been terribly severe in His judgment, if not on the amount of a man's property, at any rate on his use of it. His blessing had rested on the "poor in spirit," though many thought that this beatitude related simply, without qualification, to the poor. And there were hard sayings about the rich being sent empty away, and about the difficulty of their entering into the Kingdom. Moreover, when Dives became a Christian, he could no longer leave Lazarus at his gate. He must take him within his house and minister to his needs, and when this was done the contrast between possessions and beggary only became the more evident: it troubled Dives' conscience just in proportion to his sense of Christian brotherhood. Within the circle of the religious community the great majority were persons of very moderate incomes, if not actually poor. "L'ouvrier, gagnant honnêtement sa vie de tous les jours, tel était bien, en effet, le chrétien idéal."[1] The general tone of Christian feeling must have

[1] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 600.

been suspicious of large properties, highly critical of all that could be interpreted as avarice, and a little disposed to be unduly severe on the rich brother's failings.

In Clement's day the proportion of the Church's wealthier members was tending to increase. He himself must have had considerable private means. Origen's father was a Christian and a man of property worth confiscating. His wealthy patroness, and his later friend Ambrosius, belonged to the same class. Carpophorus, with the aid of Callistus, carried on a considerable business as banker for the faithful in Rome, where persons, distinguished for their wealth, were coming over to the Church in considerable numbers.[1] Funds could be raised without difficulty to ransom Christians who were in prison, or to alleviate the sufferings of those condemned to labour in the Sardinian mines. Lucian knew that the Christians were people out of whom a clever man could make money.[2] The number of men who carried on a lucrative business after their conversion was certainly not less than it had been in the days of Hermas.[3] We might indeed, without more particular evidence, have taken it for granted that this tendency would be specially noticeable in Alexandria. The great wealth of the city, its general atmosphere so specially favourable to the adoption of new religious views, its singular attraction for persons who could afford to travel, would all tend to facilitate the rapid multiplication of the Church's wealthy members. But, apart from such considerations, there is the positive evidence of the *Pædagogus* and of the *Quis Dives Salvetur*.

It is all to the credit of these richer Christians of Alexandria, that they took the Gospel so seriously as to be

[1] H.E., v. 21, πλούτῳ διαφανεῖς. [2] *De morte Peregrini*, 13, 16.

[3] When already some were ἐμπεφυρμένοι πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ, *Mand.*, x. 1.

troubled by its demands. Some of them, who had great possessions, were much distressed by the story of the Young Ruler, and other similar references to wealth. Rightly or wrongly, they did not see their way to abandon their riches ; yet there was the Lord's hard saying that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom. This teaching puzzled them, made them unhappy, and drove not a few to give up all hope of salvation. The "Way," it seemed, was impossible : comfortable circumstances shut them out of heaven. It only remained to make the most of this world and, in despair of the hereafter, to secure all that this present life had power to afford. It is for the enlightenment and recovery of such people, for the removal of what Clement held to be their error, that his one extant sermon was composed.

A sermon indeed it is, neither more nor less. Its aim is to expound Scripture and to edify the hearers. The pastoral strain is more apparent in it than the didactic. It is based on a text, yet it touches closely enough the actual conditions of life in the world. After remaining for long unknown, and being subsequently included by mistake among the works of Origen, it was recognised at the end of the seventeenth century as the work of his master, which indeed the evidence of Eusebius makes indisputably clear.[1] It may have been delivered in the ordinary course of Sunday worship ; more likely it was addressed to a specially invited audience of well-to-do converts, for it is such that the preacher has continuously in mind. That he has for the time no concern with those outside the Church, is expressly stated at the opening of the homily. The rich Christian of modern days may learn something from its teaching, while the historian may well be grateful for the

[1] H.E., iii. 23 ; vi. 13.

picture it gives us of the ways and ideas, in regard to money, which were current in the Church of a wealthy commercial city about A.D. 200.

"Those who make laudatory speeches to the wealthy appear to me," observes the preacher, "not only guilty of flattery and meanness, but also of irreverence and treachery; of irreverence, because they pay to the rich the honour due to God; of treachery, because to the moral risks of wealth they add the conceit that comes from unmeasured commendation. This is the proverbial heaping fire on fire, when it were far better to rid them of a dangerous disease. We should seek their salvation by our prayers and by our counsel, that their souls may be healed by the Saviour's grace, and they may be brought to light and truth.

"The causes which make salvation more difficult for the rich than for the poor are very complex. Some, hearing the Lord's saying about the camel and the needle's eye, despair of eternal life and give the world its way; they wander further than ever from the path to heaven, without any inquiry as to *what* rich people the Teacher named, or *how* the impossible with men becomes possible after all. Others, though they may understand this, neglect the works which lead to salvation, and take no measures to realise their hopes. I speak in each case of the rich who have come to know the Saviour's power. With the uninitiated I have no concern.

"If, then, we love truth and love the brotherhood, we shall neither despise nor contemn the rich who have received the call, nor yet come cringing to them for our personal advantage. Our first aim will be to rid them of their despair, and to show them, by a true explanation of the Saviour's words, that they are not wholly precluded from the inheritance of the Kingdom. Secondly, when this baseless fear is removed, we shall further enlighten them

as to the way and the deeds and the disposition, by which the Christian hope is to be secured. For its attainment is neither impossible nor yet a matter of random fortune. It is with the Christian as it is with the athlete. His victory comes by pains and training. He must gladly submit himself to the Word as his trainer. So, when the last trumpet has given its signal for the final stage of his course, he shall depart from life's stadium an acknowledged victor, to be welcomed with wreaths and the acclaim of angels in his country which is above.

"With this theme, then, I commence my sermon, praying that the Saviour will grant me power to aid my brethren towards the Christian hope. It is his work to teach the inquirers, to disperse ignorance, to dispel despair. He shall repeat to us his words about rich men. They are their own best interpreters. Let us listen again to the actual sayings in the Gospels which have needlessly occasioned such distress."

The passage is the story of the Young Ruler (Saint Mark, x. 17 *sqq.*), which the preacher then reads aloud. "This," he proceeds, "is written in the Gospel according to Mark, and, with slight verbal differences, in all (*sic*) the other accepted Gospels. Remembering that the Saviour's instruction to his own was never merely human but always in the nature of divine and mystic wisdom, we must not take the words literally, according to the flesh, but seek for their hidden meaning. Such investigation is even more necessary in the case of the apparently simple teaching of the Lord to his disciples, than in dealing with his hidden and puzzling suggestions. Even what He explained needs fuller consideration, much more so that which, from its apparent simplicity, passed without occasioning question.

"'Good Master, what good thing shall I do to inherit eternal life?' No doubt the Lord welcomed the appro-

priate inquiry. The Life was asked about life, the Saviour about salvation, the Perfect one about perfect rest, the Immortal about secure immortality. Such were the very objects of his mission on earth. No doubt, God as He was, He foresaw the question. 'Good Master,'—that word 'good' gives the keynote. He turns the disciples' thought to the one good supreme God, whose gift of life the Son enables us to receive. Indeed, if we are to gain life, the chiefest and greatest of all lessons to be implanted in the soul is the knowledge of the one good and eternal God. This is our first principle, beyond controversy, beyond attack. Ignorance of God is death. The knowledge of Him, the love of Him, assimilation and full resemblance to Him, is the only life.

"And after this knowledge we must go on to learn the might of the Saviour and his new gift of grace. For 'the law was given by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' God's gifts through Moses, the faithful servant, do not equal the blessings given by the Son. Otherwise the Advent and Passion of the Son, all the course of his human experience from his birth to the Cross, would have no purpose; and the man who had kept all the Law's commandments from his youth, would gain nothing by kneeling to pray for immortality. 'From his youth,' observe. There is nothing very glorious in an old age that has no crop of vices; but the man is indeed an admirable champion, who, through the heat and impetuosity of youth, preserves a spirit aged and mellow beyond his years. Yet with all this the Young Ruler knows that, though he possesses all righteousness, he is wholly in need of life. Jesus does not blame him for any failure to fulfil the Law; nay, He loves him, and congratulates him on his obedience. But he is imperfect as regards eternal life. The other is excellent; who denies it? The 'commandment is holy.'

It is a preliminary education towards the grace and higher law of Jesus, for He is the completion of the Law.

"'If,' He says, 'thou wilt be perfect.' The man's imperfection is implied. More than this, the Saviour makes evident the power of the soul to will. With man as free lies the choice ; with God, as Sovereign, lies the gift. It is to men who desire and pray and are in earnest, that God gives ; that so their salvation may really be their own. God does not compel. To Him violence is hateful, but He gives to those who seek. 'If thou really willest,' says the Lord ; 'if thou art not self-deceived, possess the thing that is lacking, which is the one abiding good.' But he who had fulfilled from his youth all the Law, could not add this to his attainments. He went away sorrowful, troubled at the behest of life. For he did not really desire life, as he said ; he only wanted to acquire a repute for good intentions. About many things he could take trouble, but the task of life was beyond his powers. It is like Martha and Mary. This man, too, Jesus in effect bade to cease troubling about many things, and to come and find a place closer to the grace of Him who offered eternal life.

"Now, what was it that turned him to flight and made him abandon the Teacher, as well as his quest, his hope, his life, his previous efforts? Just this, 'Sell all that thou hast.' And what does that mean? *It is not*, as some have interpreted the words off-hand, *a command to throw away his property and to abandon his possessions.* No, he was to banish from his soul his convictions about wealth, the anxiety, the disease of mind, the cares, the thorns of this life, which choke the seed of life eternal. For there is nothing great or desirable in such a gratuitous abandonment of wealth, as aids in no way to our higher life. Otherwise every penniless pauper, every beggar for daily needs, every poor outcast by the road, though ignorant of God and

righteousness, would by their sheer want and helplessness and lack of everything attain to blessedness and the love of God and sole possession of eternal life. Besides, there is nothing new in renouncing wealth, and dealing generously with the poor or one's country. Many an Anaxagoras, many a Democritus, many a Crates, did that before the Advent of the Saviour, some for the sake of learned leisure, some for empty fame and reputation.

"What, then, is this fresh, special, and life-giving announcement made by the 'New Creation,' the Son of God? It is something more perfect and divine than the apparent meaning; it is the necessity of purifying our very soul and character from hidden passions, of cutting out by the roots and rejecting alien influences from the mind. This is a lesson peculiar to the believer, an instruction worthy of the Saviour. Formerly people despised external things, and let their possessions go, only to intensify the passion within their souls. A man may disburden himself of property, and yet retain, ingrained, the longing and affection for money. He may live in need and yet in desire, with the double pain of lost resources and abiding mortification. You cannot go short of the necessities of life without being broken in spirit, and distracted from higher things, by the effort to secure supplies in such fashion as you may.

"Is it not far better to have sufficient means, to be free from trouble over resources, and to aid the deserving? What sort of generosity would be possible among men, if no man called anything his own? Such a theory would plainly contradict the Lord's other teaching, that we should make friends by means of Mammon, that we should 'lay up treasure in heaven,' that we should feed the hungry and gather in the homeless. He himself could be the guest of wealthy publicans like Zacchæus, Levi, Matthew, without bidding them surrender their possessions. It is through our

possessions we are to give bread to the hungry and to clothe the naked. But if such wants can only be supplied by money, and this we are bidden to reject, then the Lord would give contradictory teaching, which it is wholly unreasonable to suppose. Thus we must not reject the means that may be for our neighbour's aid. Wealth, for the Christians who understand, is their given material, their instrument, their tool; and a tool requires skill. It may serve for good or evil purposes, and its proper nature is to serve, not to rule. Thus we are not to accuse what of itself has neither good nor evil qualities, but rather the mind of man, which has power to use these things well or ill, being free to decide and responsible for its employment of the gifts of God. So we must interpret 'selling all he had' as referring to the affections of the soul.

"Thus I would maintain that it is far more probable the Lord meant to take away, not the property, whose loss leaves the desires as they were, but rather those very desires by whose extinction property becomes of real service. A man may abandon the wealth of the world and yet abound in desires. His inward disposition still takes its course, stifling his reason, and keeping the heat of old desires aglow. He profits nothing by being poor in income, rich in his cravings. He has lost what was merely indifferent, not what he ought to lose. Let us be rid of what does harm, but no man is hurt by external things. It is the abundance of our wants that brings ruin. We must be purified from this and so hear the Saviour's 'Follow me.'

"He who regards his gold, his silver, his houses, as gifts of God; he who by these means serves the divine Giver for the salvation of men, and knows that his possessions are for his brother's sake more than for his own; he who is superior to his property and not its slave, who does not ever carry it with him in his soul, nor regard all his true

life as concentrated there, but is ever working at some divine and noble task ; he who, if he must one day lose his riches, can bear the loss of them as cheerfully as he did their abundance—such an one, capable of the true life in spite of his wealth, has earned the Lord's beatitude. He is poor in spirit, the inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven. Contrast the man whose riches are ever in his soul, his gold or his estate, instead of God's Spirit, in his heart. He is for ever after profit. His eyes are fixed on earth. The world's snares fetter him. He is of earth, and to earth shall he return. How can he desire the Kingdom of Heaven ? Where he should have a heart he has a property, or a mine. Where his mind is, there his treasure is. There is good treasure and there is evil treasure, as there is good wealth and evil wealth. The one is worth winning ; the other we should fling away. It is to make this clear that Matthew added 'in spirit' to the beatitude, 'Blessed are the poor.'

"We must not, then, employ any literal or vulgar standard in identifying those rich people, for whom it is difficult to enter the Kingdom. Salvation, I repeat, does not lie in our external circumstances, neither in our wealth nor in our poverty, neither in the world's praise nor in the world's neglect ; just as it certainly does not depend on the beauty or the plainness of our bodily appearance. Here, again, it is the use of the body and its powers that counts. The qualities that determine life or death lie in the soul, nor should the reason of our final destiny be sought in any other quarter than the soul's inward state and disposition. There is a genuine and a spurious wealth, as there is a genuine and a spurious poverty. Both depend on interior qualities. The pure in heart, those who have relinquished the alien possessions of the soul, see God ; or, in other words, enter the heavenly Kingdom.

"But how are you to relinquish possessions? 'Sell them,' you say. Indeed? You mean take money for your property, exchange wealth for wealth, translate your visible substance into cash? That is not the way. Rather, in place of those earlier properties of the soul, you must substitute a different wealth, the character that is after the ordinance of God, of which abiding salvation and eternal life are the reward. Such a 'selling' is a glorious exchange. All this, and how the same man could be rich and poor at once, that wealthy man of law-abiding life had failed to understand. So he went away sorrowful, deserting the ranks of life and turning the difficult course into an impossibility. Difficult—yes, of course it was difficult to keep the luxuries of unusual wealth from dazzling his soul. Yet it was not impossible, even so, to lay hold on salvation, could a man but learn to use rightly, as a means of eternal life, the riches which intrinsically are neither good nor bad.

"Then there was the fear of the disciples. Were they so hampered by wealth? Why, the few nets and hooks and worthless craft which were all their property had been relinquished long ago, so their frightened inquiry, 'Who, then, can be saved?' is hard to comprehend. But, the fact is, they understood. They knew the depth of the Lord's saying. They were conscious that they had not wholly banished inward affections, recent pupils of the Saviour as they were. Thus, if the man who has possessions, and the man who has desire alive within him, are equally to be banished from heaven, there was every reason for the disciples' fear. For salvation belongs to souls that are passionless and pure.

"As for the Lord's saying that what is impossible with men is possible with God, it means that a man may train himself laboriously for this freedom and yet, unaided, accomplish nothing. But he gains his end by the assistance of the power of God, for God favours willing souls;

but when they lose their purpose, the gift of the Spirit is withdrawn. To save men against their will would be an act of violence; to do so with their choice is a deed of grace. In this sense 'the violent take the kingdom,' and God rejoices to be mastered in this way. Peter, the foremost Apostle, grasped the meaning. 'We have left all,' he answered—not of course his property, worth the proverbial four obols, but those earlier inward possessions of the soul, which he had abandoned to follow in the Teacher's steps.

"Neither the Lord's answer about leaving parents and brethren, nor his harder saying about hating father and mother, must trouble us. The God of peace and love does not destroy our natural affections, far from it. Yet the same convictions and the same character might lead us to refrain from punishing an enemy, and yet to be at variance with a father, son, or brother, should their irreligion prove a hindrance and an obstacle to our faith and the higher life. The ties of the Spirit are stronger than the ties of blood.

"It might be represented as a case of disputed claim. The father appeals: 'You are my child, I brought you up; follow me, and share my sins. Refuse to obey Christ's law.' Then comes the Saviour: 'I gave you a new life. I gave you freedom, health, ransom. I will reveal to you the face of the Father. "Call no man father upon earth." "Let the dead bury their dead," and follow Me to enjoy one day those unspeakable blessings "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." I provide for you. I give myself to you as the Bread of Life and as the Cup of Immortality. I am your teacher, your champion. It is I who paid the price of death, due from you for past sins and unbelief.' Hear both claims and pass the verdict on your own behalf. Let your vote be for salvation, and whether brother, child, or wife make the claim, let the Christ within you ever win the day. As for riches, the Lord does not grudge. It is

only if they are spiritually dangerous that He will call upon you to surrender them.

"The following words have a similar meaning. We are to receive, in this present time, lands and money and houses and brethren and persecutions. It is not only the penniless and friendless He calls to life. Some He called were rich ; some, like Peter and John, had brothers. We are familiar with external persecution, when, through hatred, jealousy, greed, or the devil's instigation, men harass the elect. But the severest persecution is from within. Passions and pleasures, unworthy hopes and dreams that perish, the flame, goads, stings, and madness of desire—this is the deeper, severer persecution, arising within, never ceasing, impossible to escape. In this state a man carries his enemy with him everywhere. It is worth any abandonment of wealth or relatives to escape this and find peace.

"'The first shall be last and the last first.' This admits of various interpretations. But I leave it for the present, as it does not specially concern the rich. I think my undertaking is sufficiently fulfilled, and that I have shown that the Saviour does not exclude the wealthy on account of their wealth alone. Only they must look to the Lord for orders, as the crew watch the pilot. After all, where is the wrong, if anyone by thrift and diligence did make a fortune before conversion ? There is even less ground of reproach if, by the favour of God, one was born into a wealthy family. Indeed, were a man banished from life because of his involuntary birth in wealthy circumstances, he might fairly complain that God had done him wrong. And why should the earth have produced wealth at all, if it be only death's agent and minister ? If a man have fellowship with God, his riches do him no harm. If not, the saying about the camel holds good. 'Camel,' however, has a higher meaning, as the work on *First Principles and Theology* may explain.

"However, we must not neglect the primary meaning of the passage. The well-to-do should be taught neither to neglect their salvation as a hopeless matter, nor yet to throw over their possessions as a treacherous enemy. They must learn how to use wealth and to win life, and here comes the greatest of the commandments: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.' God, who loved us and made us, we must ever honour first. That is our one insignificant return for His greatest mercies. And then follows the second, 'Thy neighbour as thyself.' Who our neighbour is, the story of the good Samaritan makes clear. But, indeed, the Saviour himself acts as our true neighbour. We must love Him equally with God, and show our love by doing his will.

"This love of Christ must be followed by our honour and care for believers in Christ. What we do for a disciple, we do for the Lord himself. 'Inasmuch,' He says, 'as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren,' my 'children,' my 'babes,' my 'infants,' my 'friends,' my 'little ones,' as He calls them. 'Despise not one of these little ones.' 'Fear not, little flock.' It is by our ministry to them that we are to make friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Thus He teaches us that in reality a man's possessions are not his own. They are his means of service. We must not wait to be asked and worried: we must ourselves seek out and assist those who are worthy of discipleship. 'God loveth a cheerful giver,' and to take the first step in such well-doing is indeed a pure liberality. And then think of the recompense appointed for those deeds of charity, an eternal habitation. What splendid business! What divine marketry! You buy immortality for money. You give the perishing things of the world and receive an abiding rest in heaven. Take ship then, man of wealth, for this fair. Compass the world. Take any risk. What are the trinkets and

baubles of earth in comparison with a home in heaven and a kingdom with God? So 'make to yourselves friends,' and that not by a single gift but by the friendship of many years. Neither faith nor love nor endurance are acquired in one day.

"Then our charity is not to be in any narrow spirit. You must not try to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving. You may easily make a mistake, and, as the matter is in doubt, it is better to benefit the undeserving than, in avoiding this, to miss the good. We are told not to judge. We must open our generosity to all who are enrolled as disciples, paying no attention to appearance or condition or weakness or tattered clothes. These are but an outer form, given us for the purpose of our entry into this common schoolhouse of the world. But within, in the soul, the Father dwells and the Son, who died for us and rose with us.

"By this 'form' Death and the Devil are often deceived. They fail to discern the inward beauty and riches, 'the treasure in earthen vessels,' which we bear by the power of the Trinity. But you, my rich brother, will not be so deceived. The aged, the orphans, the widows, the men who wear the uniform of love, you will select to be your spiritual bodyguard, unarmed, unstained with blood, your sure defence against shipwreck or disease or robber's attack or demon's might. Every one of them can do you service, one by his availing prayer, another by his comfort in sickness, another by crying aloud with tears for you to God, a fourth by instruction unto salvation, others by outspoken rebuke or kindly counsel, all by their sincere and genuine love. O sweet ministry of loving hearts! O blessed service of the brave in soul! What faith sincere is theirs, what truth of speech, what beauty of fair deeds, what converse with the indwelling King!

"Noble and wealthy then are all the faithful, but within their circle there are degrees of rank ; and they stand highest who are least renowned. Such souls, coming to shore, as it were, in some quiet haven from the surging waters of the world and finding so a safe retreat, desire no fame for holiness, but hide the inexpressible mysteries in their heart. They are the Light of the world, the Salt of the earth. This 'Seed' is the image and likeness of God, His true child and heir, sent here by the great Administrator's purpose, as upon some foreign mission ; for whose sake the visible and invisible elements of the world were made, some for their service, some for their discipline, some for their instruction. So long as this 'Seed' remains on earth, the Universe abides in order. And when this Seed is gathered out, there shall follow the immediate dissolution of the world.

"Have I more to say ? Consider the mysteries of love and you shall behold that bosom of the Father, whom God, the only begotten, has alone revealed. God himself is love and was revealed to us because of love. In his unspeakable greatness lies his Fatherhood. In his fellowship with our experience is Motherhood. The Father takes a woman's nature in his love. It is in token of this that He begat the Son from his own being. The fruit born from Love was Love. Hence his advent, his incarnation, his suffering humanity. He gave himself as a ransom and left us his new covenant of love. As He gave his life for us, so are we to do for our brethren ; and for this reason we cannot be grudging in our distribution of the poor and alien and transitory property of the world. 'He that loveth not his brother is a murderer,' was the inspired saying of the Apostle John. You must learn the more excellent way, the way another Apostle describes, of that love or charity that 'seeketh not her own,' and is

greater even than faith or hope. Love alone enters within the Pleroma and grows more and more as perfection is imparted. He who has this love in his soul may obtain pure repentance and recover from his faults.

"Further, if a man escape the danger of wealth, and then through ignorance or force of circumstances fall into sin after Baptism and redemption, even so he is not utterly condemned by God. For everyone who repents with all his heart the doors are open, the Father rejoices to receive again his son. The true repentance is the entire uprooting of former sin, so that God may again dwell within the purified soul. So He gives remission of former offences. For the future each man gives remission to himself. God can wipe out the past.

"'Where I find you, there will I judge you,' said the Lord. It is the end matters. After an excellent life a man may make shipwreck at the close, while many years of careless living may be surmounted by repentance in later life. Yet the greatest strictness is required, as it is with our bodies after a long-standing disease. Our sins must be wholly abandoned, so that at the time of departure we may be found to have made our peace. And if it is impossible to cut off in a moment our inbred passions, still the power of God, the prayers of men, repentance, discipline, and our brother's help, may set us right.

"For this purpose, my wealthy friend, you should set over yourself some man of God as a trainer and pilot. Give him your respect and fear. Be at pains to listen to his rebuke. Your eyes will be the better for tears, your soul for some break in its continuous pleasures. You will fear the anger of such an adviser. His grief will cause you pain. You will anticipate him when he pleads for your pardon. Let him spend wakeful nights for you in prayer; let him be your ambassador in God's presence, and prevail

with the Father by the magic of supplication. Honour him, as an angel of God, and he shall pray for you, grieved not by you, but for your good. This is genuine repentance, and God, remember, is not mocked.

"As a last encouragement, to confirm your hope of salvation, I will tell the story of the Young Robber, left by the Apostle John in Smyrna with the Bishop, instructed, baptised, and then allowed too soon to go his way. Then came his fall into sin, evil companionship, despair of salvation, his leadership of a brigand band. After a time the Apostle returned to find him dead to God. Tearing his raiment and crying aloud, he rushed from the Church, not stopping till he had discovered his spiritual child, and compelled him to lay down his weapons and allow the aged Apostle to come near to him and kiss his hand. Then there were prayers and fastings, till at length the Apostle restored him to the Church, a great example of genuine repentance, a great evidence of life renewed. For all who so repent, the Saviour will one day have a welcome in the heavenly Kingdom. Our confidence of this rests on God's disciples and His own assurance, on Prophecy, the Gospels, and Apostolic words. Whoever here welcomes the Angel of Repentance will not be ashamed to meet the Saviour and will not dread the fire. But if a man chooses rather to remain in sinful pleasure and in luxury, let him bring no accusation against God, or wealth, or accidents, but against his own soul, which must perish through its choice." So the sermon ends.

Some wealthy member of the Alexandrian Church, who had listened in the days that followed his conversion to the substance of the *Pædagogus* in Clement's lecture-room, and then chanced, several years later, to come across a copy of this Sermon on Riches, would perhaps have been inclined to ask himself whether the teacher had not changed his

mind, and come to think far less unfavourably of wealth. It is true that, even when Clement's teaching was most marked by ascetic tendencies, he was still prepared to admit that wealth had its legitimate use and service for the Christian ; just as it is equally clear in the *Quis Dives* that he did not forget the moral risks and calamities it may involve. But the standpoint, the stress, the emphasis are altered. Elsewhere, wealth is the dangerous serpent which may fasten on the hand and bite ;[1] its possession tempts woman to the love of finery and display ;[2] it increases the difficulty of the good life, as Plato and the Gospel are agreed,[3] while the power of avarice may cause the fall of any city, not alone of Sparta.[4] That is Clement's dominant conviction with regard to money. It is qualified by many admissions on the other side, but outside this Sermon it is the most evident feature of his thoughts about property, leading him, as we have seen, to praise economy and advise a small establishment and home-made clothes. All this may well have made the Church's wealthier members ill at ease. If they were not bidden, as in Saint James' Epistle, to "weep and howl," at least they were disconcerted by the reminder that the love of money was a species of spiritual adultery.[5] Many of them did conclude that Christianity was not for them. We have seen that this Sermon on Riches was intended to guide and reassure such people. Is Clement guilty of any undue complaisance ? Does he go too far in restoring to the wealthy their ease of mind ? Does he even fall into that ever-recurring snare of the Christian preacher and become too conciliatory to the well-to-do ? Συμπεριφορα, the temper of accommodation, was one of his favourite principles and favourite terms. It is the Apostolic "all things to all men," a maxim, as experience has often shown, as dangerous as it is indispens-

[1] 274. [2] 271. [3] 439, 440. [4] 574. [5] 877.

able. It is fair to inquire whether, in respect of riches, Clement carries this too far; whether, possibly, the fact that he himself at any rate was not poor, led him to minimise the moral danger of possessions. Certainly he desired to make the wealthy feel that there was a place for them in the Christian scheme. Certainly his motive and point of view are different in this sermon from those which his other extant writings usually betray. Was he too accommodating? Does he make the narrow way too easy?

This thought may well have occurred to some of his hearers, yet it would probably be very difficult to substantiate such a charge. The rich man's first impression that Clement's sermon left him comfortable in the enjoyment of his possessions, would be considerably modified when he understood all that it involved. He need not abandon all his property, but on what condition was it to be retained? His riches added a special difficulty to his salvation. They were ever to be his tool and servant, never to dominate his life. He was to possess them, without greatly loving them. Should he ever lose them, their loss must be faced with equanimity. Always they were a kind of trust, for his brother's advantage rather than his own. They were to form no barrier or distinction between poorer people and himself. He must never locate his property, an estate, a mine, a business, in that inner sanctuary of his heart where God alone should dwell. There are few passages in Clement's writings of greater literary and spiritual beauty, than the section in which he describes the rich man who is heir to the Kingdom, and deserving of the Lord's beatitude on the poor in spirit.[1]

But it will hardly be claimed that Christian experience has proved it easy to attain to this ideal. Since Clement addressed landlords, merchants, and shipowners in Alex-

[1] 944; *supra*, p. 312.

andria, the rich have not been slow to render their generous service to the Christian cause. They have given of their abundance to the Church's charities. They have erected fair houses for the worship of God. They have subscribed largely to the spread of the Gospel, and suffered personal loss in the emancipation of the slave. But the indifference to external circumstances which Clement taught has grown but slowly; and religious people have often found a keen sense of property quite compatible with much grave criticism of what they have termed "the world." The conditions on which Clement was prepared to assert the rich man's title to Christian fellowship and ultimate salvation, were probably far more difficult and exacting than those which are practically demanded by the Church in modern times. Indeed, in some respects the ideal has undergone considerable change, and the latter-day preacher, in some great centre of commercial life, would rarely be prepared to tell a congregation of merchants that the love of money ought to be absolutely eradicated from their souls. Economic conditions have altered, and human life, to our disappointment, grows increasingly conscious of the measure of its dependence upon external things. So we cannot commit ourselves without reserve to the ideal of Clement's sermon; but at least we shall not suggest that he made things too easy for the rich.

What Clement fails to see, and the failure is characteristic, is the value for certain temperaments of some external act of renunciation. Everything with him is a matter of the interior life. The influence of Stoicism on his creed is nowhere more apparent than in this. What stood first for Clement, as for the Stoic Emperor, was "health in the inner Self."[1] The strange paucity of references in his books to his own personal circumstances, to the movement of the world's affairs, to his busy and

[1] *Meditations*, viii. 43.

varied environment in Alexandria, have their rise in this deliberate indifference to the things without. Hence his bold assertion that the Lord did not really intend the Young Ruler to sell his goods. There can be little doubt that the Gospel narrative implies that our Lord's command was to be taken in its literal sense. Now Clement not only gives the words a wider spiritual significance, which was legitimate enough, but even goes so far in his exegesis as to assert that in the case of the Young Ruler the inward change of estimates, which Jesus demanded, did not necessarily involve any external deed of renunciation.[1] This somewhat hazardous piece of interpretation may be borne in mind when we come to speak of Clement's use of Scripture.

For the moment, what we notice is Clement's failure to appreciate the spiritual value of the outward act. When Saint Anthony, the great Egyptian hermit, chanced to hear this incident read in Church, he was so struck by it that, in literal obedience, he sold his property and distributed the proceeds to the poor. We recollect how many men have sought salvation by similar surrenders ; how the ladies of Florence renounced their silken robes and jewelled ornaments in response to Savonarola's appeals in Lent ; how Gautama entered on the road to Buddhahood by the supreme sacrifice of the Great Renunciation. It can hardly be maintained that in all these instances the external act was of no account ; and that the whole momentous moral change might equally well have been accomplished inwardly, within the soul. The truth is, there is something sacramental in these and all similar surrenders, whether they be dramatically public or known only to half a dozen friends. The sale of our goods, or its equivalent, ratifies the inner change of standpoint, is expressive of an inward act of will, and so intimately

[1] It is notable that in the *Pædagogus* (189) Clement understands the command in its literal sense.

connects itself with our highest purpose that, in many cases, the purpose is only fully our own, when we have committed ourselves to its allegiance by some corresponding outward deed.

Thus it is that external things become significant and are very means as well as signs of grace. In the case of the Young Ruler, Jesus doubtless knew that outward compliance with the hard demand would be not only the evidence, but even the cause, of inward change. Clement recognised that what a man is, counts for more than what he does. He fails to see, what a moralist who had read Aristotle should have understood, that what we are depends largely on what we do. It is probable that for his own spiritual life Clement depended very slightly on rules and ordinances and special efforts to do right. If he suffered temporal loss when he fled from Alexandria in the persecution of A.D. 202, he was probably not greatly disturbed in mind thereby. And it is this personal standpoint and conviction, far more than any desire to say just what it would please the rich to hear, which must explain his bold abatement of one of the most deliberate and exacting commandments of the Lord. Incidentally we are reminded of the preacher's duty in every age to bear in mind not alone his own experience, but also the measure of spiritual attainment existing in those to whom he speaks.

The rich brother in the Alexandrian Church is thus to retain his riches. How are they to be employed? Largely in almsgiving. In this the Church's standard tended to be exacting and severe. It was an accepted principle that the wealthy man must not only be fair and honourable in the discharge of his obligations: he must also devote his wealth to the maintenance of the poor.[1] Beyond a sufficient

[1] In this the Church was reflecting the better spirit of the world: "There has probably seldom been a time when wealth was more generally regarded as a trust, a possession in which the community at large has a right to share," Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 231.

competency for his own needs, he was to spend his money, not on fields and dwellings, but on the support of widows and orphans, on hospitality, on the ransom of Christians in prison, on the supply of necessities for the poor.[1] Clement speaks of these as the spiritual "bodyguard"[2] of the rich brother. They repay his outlay by their prayers, their consolations, their instruction, their timely counsel. So the world's transitory riches become the purchase money of the heavenly and eternal heritage. A man's wealth might be his soul's ransom.[3] For the rich Christian, as for the proselyte Cornelius, "thine alms are come up for a memorial before God."

When we recollect how very small a proportion of the Church's membership these wealthier converts formed—"plerique pauperes dicimur,"[4] Χριστιανοὶ . . . πτωχεύουσι . . . πάντων ὑστεροῦνται,[5]—when we realise that even outside the Church the common judgment of serious people was strongly adverse to riches, as is made evident by Lucian's *Timon* or by Dion Chrysostom's charming appreciation of the "simple life," as he describes it among a small community of peasants in the mountain country of Eubœa;[6] it will be realised how strongly this moral compulsion must have exerted its influence upon the rich within the Church. "C'était le riche qui, sur toute la ligne, était sacrifié."[7] That he gained by his sacrifice, that he realised that it was worth the loss of all things to win Christ, need not be called in question. What is evident, and what must seriously have detracted from the spiritual value of this extensive almsgiving, is that practically the wealthy Christian had no choice. His poorer brethren

[1] *Cp.* Hermas, *Mand.*, viii., and *Simil.*, i.

[2] δορυφόροι, 955; *cp.* the curiously similar phrase in Lucian, *De mort. Peregrini*, 16: ἐξῆει οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενος, ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος ἐν ἅπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν.

[3] 277, 537, *cp.* Prov. xiii. 8.

[4] Min. Felix, *Octavius*, 36.

[5] *The Epistle to Diognetus*, 5.

[6] *Oratio*, vii.

[7] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 601.

were evidently not slow to remind him of the moral drawbacks of his possessions. Even when he gave with most joy in giving, he can never have been unconscious that the expectation and the demand were there. "The world," says Clement, "is made up of those who give and those who receive;"[1] and in regard to the Church the saying was even more fully true.

Beyond this abundant and obligatory charity there is one further advantage in riches, to which Clement refers more than once; of which, no doubt, personal experience had taught him the value. Riches gave freedom from care and anxiety in regard to the necessities of life. Over against the fact that wealth might be a troublesome encumbrance on life's journey,[2] and that it had been likened by the Lord Himself to the thorns that choke the grain, lay the admitted penalties and limitations of great poverty. Already we have had occasion to notice, how strong an inducement to the single life he counts freedom from the cares and burdens of a family's maintenance to be. Writing in the same strain, he likens the hampering effects of poverty to those of disease. It "leaves the soul no leisure for the essential things, contemplation, I mean, and pure sinlessness; and compels the man who has not wholly devoted himself to God by love, to be occupied about supplies."[3] In the *Quis Dives* he writes, "No effort or contrivance can prevent the man who is in want of the necessities of existence, being broken in spirit and distracted from better things by his effort to supply his needs by any means and from any source."[4] Poverty, just as truly as wealth or reputation or married life, has its ten thousand cares.[5] So divine Providence co-operates with human effort in the acquirement of wealth.[6] Severely as he condemns luxury and great as is his scorn for the ostentatious vulgarity of

[1] 537. [2] 277. [3] 573. [4] 942. [5] 577. [6] 821.

vast possessions, if unredeemed by taste, he is still quite convinced that we must count among the spiritual gains of life the freedom, which a sufficient income affords, from distracting worldly cares. It is significant that repeated assertions should be made on this subject by one who was so indifferent as Clement to the externalities of life. What he values, of course, is not wealth but freedom and inward peace and the possibility of undisturbed contemplation.

It has to be admitted that in his advice to the wealthy there are certain things that Clement fails to see, and among these omissions none is more obvious than his inability to perceive the dangerous side of unrestricted liberality. He boldly says that alms are to be given to the unworthy. It is better to include these, than to run the risk of refusing those who have the claims of merit. He asserts this principle in the *Quis Dives* and reiterates it in his description of the Gnostic Christian.[1] There is apparently some restriction when he allows, in one of the Fragments, that almsgiving is to be "with judgment and to the deserving;"[2] but normally he views the duty from the standpoint of the giver, considering his spiritual advantage in giving without stint, but not concerning himself with the consequences of facile generosity to the poor. Now there is no question that, long before Clement wrote, Christian charity had been abused. At whatever exact date the *Didache* was written, it is clear that the Χριστέμπορος already was abroad.[3] He would ask for money, insisting that his request was made "in the spirit." He would look for more than the two or three days hospitality which was usual. He would often be quite reluctant to put his hand to an honest craft. Such

[1] 954, 997.
[2] Stählin, iii. 225. See 873 for a similar qualification of the principle.
[3] *Didache*, 11, 12.

traffic in the Christian Name did not grow less. We have already referred to the striking evidence on this point afforded by Clement's contemporary, Lucian, in the *De morte Peregrini*. Plainly "letters of commendation" were not always demanded from the stranger, and so trickery and deception were encouraged, and rich believers shrank from the odium of close inquiry.

It is, of course, an early stage of that indiscriminate charity, about which the Political Economist has had so much to say in later times. We have the beginnings of a system of doles and gratuities which has done the Church untold harm, and which has even led to the payment of communicants and confirmees. To this day in country villages the poor frequently regard it as the main function of the Christian Society, not to hold up to them the true ideal, or to unite them in following the better way of life, but to be liberal and frequent in the distribution of material gifts. We have to admit that it is, in part, such teaching as Clement's on the use of wealth, that has made the Charity Organisation Society so necessary an institution.

Further, Clement has little appreciation of the importance of wealth from the standpoint of the community. Here, as in the case of marriage, his concern is with the inner life of the individual; at all costs he must be delivered from the snares of riches. To the wider questions of economics he is as indifferent as any monk or eremite. Cæsar must mind his own. Hence it never occurs to him that the captain of industry is society's benefactor; still less would he have understood the latter-day proposition, that a man is rarely so well occupied as when he is making money. He shared to the full the Greek prejudice against trade; and would certainly have loved to find a place in the *Pædagogus* for the story, had he known it, of the wealthy man whose

gay dress made even the polite citizens of Athens remark, "Spring come already!" as they passed him by.[1]

Yet the political aspects of economics had not wholly been ignored in earlier days. Xenophon had written a pamphlet on the improvement of public revenues. Aristotle had not excluded trade and commerce from his *Politics*. And even Plato had allowed the necessity of funds for the State that was involved in war.[2] Clement might have learned from them to appreciate the public services of the wealthy. Or he might have recollected that the "Wisdom Literature," which with him was a favourite part of the Old Testament, recognised the "workmaster" as among those who "maintain the fabric of the world," and knew that even in buying and selling a man might "hold on diligently in the fear of the Lord."[3] He might have drawn a like conclusion from the New Testament, had he combined our Lord's commendation of the servant, who made the five talents into ten, with Saint Paul's insistence on the duty of paying taxes. When he protests against the trader who has two prices,[4] or against demanding interest from a brother,[5] he is on sure ground; but when he sees no gain in wealth beyond the power to be charitable and the freedom from anxiety and cares, he is misled by that "incivism" which, while it was possibly an inevitable outcome of the conditions of the time, was certainly a defect and limitation in much of the earlier Christian teaching. The very facility with which he had travelled from one city to another and finally to Alexandria, the very papyrus leaves on which he wrote his books, were the outcome of commercial enterprise to which the Church, like the world, was indebted, and without which the most spiritual purposes must have been frequently unattained.

[1] Lucian, *Nigrinus*, 13.
[2] *Republic*, 422.
[3] *Ecclesiasticus*, xxvii. 3; xxxviii. 27, 34.
[4] 299.
[5] 473.

To this extent the modern reader of Clement's Sermon on Riches must recognise that the Alexandrine Father has neither seen nor said everything on this practical and perplexing subject. Yet perhaps the Church of the twentieth century has little cause to congratulate herself on the wider knowledge and experience, which the years have brought. In the great centres of population and industry, which are the counterpart in modern Europe of the ancient capital of the Ptolemies in Clement's day, the problem of riches and poverty remains still unsolved. The internal struggles of the most progressive nations, and the rivalry of races for the Empire of the world, tend more and more to give predominance to the economic issues, so that, after twenty centuries of Christianity, the fight of kingdoms, classes, and individuals for a larger share of this world's wealth seems to grow not less but more.

It is not without regret that the serious Christian of our latter days must allow that spiritual, as compared with material interests, have no stronger power of appeal in the Europe of to-day than they had in ancient Alexandria ; that the Church of the twentieth century is doubtful of her policy, perhaps even conscious of a declining influence, in the presence of those tremendous and threatening social issues, which depend upon the use and distribution of material wealth. He who reads the *Quis Dives* with the desire to relate the old and the new, may be inclined to envy an age in which it seemed possible to the Church to solve all problems of this order by demanding unselfish generosity on the part of the well-to-do. Nor will he fail on further reflection to be grateful to Clement's memory for his one extant Sermon. He will recognise it as an early and notable example of the effort to bring the teaching of the Gospels to bear on the concrete difficulties of life. He will appreciate and profit by the

insistence on the principle, as necessary now as ever, that the real issues of life are inward, of the soul. Finally, he will welcome, as an element of spiritual beauty and value, the strain of sincere piety, at once pastoral and personal, which runs throughout the Sermon. Among Clement's own writings this is comparable to the tone of the closing chapters of the *Protrepticus*. In recent times it was in a similar spirit that Bishop Westcott once spoke on the same subject in a great modern city, where wealth, and maritime position, and intellectual culture, combine as they did in Alexandria of old.[1]

[1] Address to the Christian Social Union, delivered in Liverpool, November 1899. *Lessons from Work*, pp. 341 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XI

THE LOGOS

Our consideration of Clement's teaching must now lead us from busy streets and the houses of the wealthy to those remoter provinces of thought, in which the speculative mind deals with ultimate realities. Between the concrete details of the *Pædagogus* or the *Quis Dives* and the highly abstract character of his advanced theology the contrast is evident and striking; it is due to the versatility of Clement's nature and to the variety of his interests that he moves with a certain natural freedom on such different planes. As we know, he gathered abundantly from many sources. In so far as this abundance of material is ever unified into a system, this unity, never perfectly attained, is secured through the doctrine of the Logos. In this fruitful, plastic, and extremely valuable conception, Clement found a means of combining all that Hellenism, Hebraism, and Christianity, could contribute to true religion. By this means he could reconcile what was old with what was new, what belonged to Nature with what came by Grace, what lay on the remote confines of human thought with what was familiar and near at hand. To this central and dominant conception the broken and imperfect outlines of his unfinished structure owe all they possess of harmony, completeness, and continuity; nor is there any passage in his writings which might more fittingly be chosen as an epitome

of his undertaking, than that in which he thus describes the task of the Christian teacher : "He who combines again the separated elements and achieves the perfect unification of the Logos, shall surely without fail behold the truth."[1]

Of such vital importance in Clement's view was the Logos doctrine for the religious interpretation of the world. And yet the Logos in itself was not ultimate and absolute. ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν : the Word in its fundamental character stands in relationship to God ; it is derivative, secondary, mediate, dependent by its intrinsic nature and in its many offices upon the higher, primal, inexpressible Reality. Our consideration of Clement's conception of the Logos will therefore proceed most naturally from some account of his doctrine of God.

God, he describes, adopting a distinction current in Alexandrian thought, as ontologically remote, dynamically near.[2] Man cannot express his essence, though he can say something of His works and power. God's true being Clement therefore consistently depicts in negative terminology. One by one he strips away from the divine substance all qualities and attributes, which would connect Him with human finitude or cosmic process. In the divine nature there is neither change, nor movement, nor need, nor passion.[3] God is above all the limitations of time and space ; above all that is the property of the things which come and go.[4] He has no shape, no visible nature, no name, no beginning.[5] He is above Creation and all its wonderful order.[6] From the human standpoint He is unapproachable, and the more we follow after Him the further He recedes from our grasp and ken.[7] When we have said all we can about Him, His true being

[1] 349.
[2] 431, 826 ; *cp.* Philo, *De Post. Cain.*, 6.
[3] 471, 833, 1001.
[4] 431.
[5] 638, 667, 695.
[6] 648.
[7] 431.

and nature remain as ever unexpressed, and though "God is light," the light itself is incapable of manifesting the real secret of His essence.[1] He is neither genus, nor difference, nor species, nor individual, nor number, nor an event, nor that to which an event happens, nor could one rightly say He was the Universe or the Whole.[2] It is true we give Him names, calling Him the Good, or Intelligence, or the Reality, or Father, or God, or Creator, or Lord; but all such terms are not properly the names of God, but just the best we can employ in our difficulties, so that our thoughts may have some ground of terminology on which to rest.

In thinking of Him we mentally remove all the physical qualities of body from His being. The three dimensions, length, breadth, and height, do not apply. A point or Monad in a certain position alone remains. If from this conception the last element of spaciality, definite position, is removed, the pure Monad or Unity is all our thought retains.[3] Yet even here, it seems, this process of abstraction does not stop. Elsewhere Clement says that God is One, and even above Unity, and beyond the very Monad.[4] The only statement we can still make respecting Him is that He exists, He is. In this expression Plato and the Old Testament are at one, however different may have been their conception of its content and significance. So transcendent is the real nature of the Deity, so entirely is He removed from all contact with the material world of change and movement, so far is He separated, in the distant purity of His own unstained existence, from the grasp of the human mind, and even from affinity with human goodness, that man is left with no single fact of which he can be sure in relation to the ultimate character of the Divine Being, save the one bare, solitary truth of His existence.

It is easy to say that so remote and abstract a conception

[1] 826, Stählin, iii. 210. [2] 695. [3] 689. [4] 140.

of God is little better than sheer atheism. It is easy to contrast this over-refined or depotentiated Divinity with those warmer, nearer, more anthropomorphic theologies, which have made God the Creator, the Guardian, the Friend, the Lover, the Saviour of the world and of His human children. Such criticisms would only have validity if this were the whole of Clement's thought. But that it is not. It is the abstract, transcendental teaching of Plato and of Philo pushed to its extreme statement ; and mere transcendence must always leave God separate from His world. Since to some extent all our thoughts of God are necessarily anthropomorphic, such negative teaching as we find in Clement, like the doctrine of the "Unknowable" in later thinkers, has its proper function in reminding us that God transcends our highest thoughts about Him, and that the most learned and even the most spiritual of us must worship in some sense at the shrine of the Unknown. Such teaching is good and valid in its proper place. It is hardly possible to escape its truth, unless we are prepared to surrender the transcendental conception of the Deity altogether. But it is partial and one-sided, and only the half of truth. How are we to connect this remote and distant Godhead with the Presence and the Power which are so near and so universal ?

This, of course, raises an old problem. How are we to bridge the gap between the One and the Many, between Being and Becoming, between the motionless, self-contained quiescence of eternal Reality and the ever-shifting flux of Nature and the mind of Man ? How, in Biblical language, is it possible for Him who inhabits eternity and dwells in the high and holy place, to dwell also with him who is of a contrite and humble spirit ; to manifest in concrete instances such human qualities as righteousness, loving-kindness, truth ? Out of this fundamental problem

of theological thought all systems of mediation take their rise. The Ideas of Plato, the Angels of simpler or of more developed Hebraism, the Wisdom of the Hokmah Literature, Greek Demons, Stoic Logoi, the Powers of Philo, the Æons of Gnosticism, the Virgin and the Saints of the mediæval Church, have one and all their *raison d'être* in this primary difficulty of the relation of the Absolute. In any system that is severely logical such intermediate agencies do not really help. The initial problem remains as it was, for though the stages of mediation be as numerous and gradual as they were in the most elaborate of the Gnostic systems, still the emergence of the Eternal from its proper state of absolute being into relativity remains, at whatever point we place it, a riddle only soluble by the acceptance of antinomies and contradictions. But what is logically without solution is sometimes a commonplace of spiritual experience. If men know anything of God, they know that He is far and near at once. In Clement's language, what is ontologically distant is dynamically close at hand, and, though every theory of revelation has its weaknesses, the fact of it is as old and enduring as Religion. If the Alexandrine Father seems to banish God into the remote domains of transcendental purity, this is somehow accomplished without any loss of the ever-present Power and Love. This paradox, in which experience seems to triumph over logic, is accounted for, so far as this is ever possible, by the doctrine of the Logos, the most far-reaching and widely-diffused theory of mediation to which religious philosophy has ever attained. Here, as elsewhere, Clement is not original; here, as elsewhere, he has had forerunners to prepare his way. But no one had seen the full measure of the potentialities of this doctrine for Christianity till Clement taught and wrote.

Since the Logos is the bond or bridge between God and the Cosmos, He is related alike to the supreme Deity and

to the world. It will be natural to consider each of these relationships separately. The one inquiry will concern itself mainly with His nature, the other with His work and office. The distinction, of course, must not be pressed too far.

"In the beginning the Word was with God." Clement frequently quotes this text from the Fourth Gospel. How far does he teach consistently the full doctrine of the pre-existence of the Logos? It is clear, in the first place, that we must recognise the Logos as existing before the Incarnation. For it was He who gave philosophy to the Greeks through the instrumentality of the lower angels; He gave the law to Moses and spake through the Prophets.[1] The unnamed stranger with whom Jacob wrestled was none other than the Word.[2] Indeed, the whole of the Old Testament may be said in Clement's view to bear witness not so much to a Christ who should come afterwards, but to an already existing and operative Power or Person. The term *παρουσία*, so common in his writings, implies the arrival of One who was already existent, while the Incarnation does not so much mark a new departure, as take its place in a long series of the Lord's activities towards humanity for its good.[3]

But the pre-existence of the Logos may be pushed back further yet. For Clement, He not only existed before the Incarnation, but also before Creation. Before the foundation of the world, anterior to all finite, temporal existence, the Logos already is in being.[4] His agency is a necessary condition for all process and all becoming. In Johannine language He is that without which, or the Person without Whom, nothing that was made could have existence. So He is spoken of as the original power of movement, the beginning or starting-point of the universe, the permanent

[1] 422, 467, 832. [2] 132. [3] 679. [4] 832.

instrumentality through which the long process of Divine Salvation is administered "from the ages unto the ages."[1] The dispensation (*αἰών*) has its beginning and its end in Him.[2] Thus He is not a part of the divine order (*κόσμος*) because He is the anterior condition of that order.[3] The whole Cosmic office of the Logos implies at once that He was pre-existent before the worlds were made; *πρὸ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀρχικώτατος λόγος* is a sufficiently emphatic statement of the thought.[4]

But there was a further stage yet, as the Arians were afterwards to remember. The Logos existed before the Incarnation and before Creation. Was His existence so far timeless and unlimited that He could be spoken of as possessing co-eternity with God? It is interesting to watch Clement's language in this connection, but we must be careful to recollect that the question of Eternal Generation had not yet been seriously raised. We may do him much injustice, or excessive credit, if we assign to him deliberate and considered views on the ground of incidental expressions upon subjects to which controversy had not yet drawn attention.

With this caution we may go on to note that in many phrases Clement seems to assign a timeless existence to the Logos. "In the beginning He exists and pre-exists."[5] He is the "archetypal light of light"[6]—a phrase which seems to imply an eternal relationship. The term "everlasting" is applied not only to the Logos in its own nature, but even to the Word as revealed in the human personality.[7] In like manner it is said that, in virtue of His timeless existence, there was no occasion for the Lord to beget

[1] 669, 833, 835. [2] 215.
[3] 803. [4] 832.
[5] *λόγος . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν καὶ προών*, 7. [6] 78.
[7] *ἀΐδιος οὗτος Ἰησοῦς*, 93; *cp.* 134, *ἡ ἀΐδιος χάρις* [*ἀΐδ.* being an addition to Scripture].

children ; while as the giver of incorruptibility He Himself is of such a nature that it is impossible for Him to be affected by the solvent of decay.[1] The Son or Word is an element in that divine Being, which in order of thought is anterior, if the contradiction of words may be allowed, even to Eternity.[2] Essentially then, in His own nature, He must be eternal. There is an important passage in which Clement is describing the true Gnostic. He remarks that he recognises pre-eminence of every order : he honours parents, elders, the oldest philosophy, the most ancient prophecy. To those examples of superiority in point of time, he adds that the Gnostic honours also "in the intelligible world the Son, eldest in origin, the timeless, unbegun beginning and first fruit of existing things."[3] This language seems to go as far as words admit in attributing an entire freedom from all temporal conditions to the Son. What is timeless and unbegun can hardly be other than eternal. Perpetuity of pre-existence, entire independence of the world of process, seems to be implied. On the other hand, there is the qualification, "eldest in origin." "Eldest" seems to hint at comparison,[4] and therefore at some homogeneity with other temporal modes of existence, while the mention of origin or "genesis," even though it be *γένεσις ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς*, might be pressed into an admission that "there was a time when the Son was not." On the whole, Clement's language on the Word's co-eternity must not be finally interpreted apart from his teaching on consubstantiality. The two, as Bishop Bull recognised, cannot really be separated. We may find that on neither

[1] 206, 533. [2] *δι' ὃν τὸ ἀεί*, 311.

[3] *ἐν δὲ τοῖς νοητοῖς [τιμητέον] τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἐν γενέσει, τὴν ἄχρονον ἄναρχον ἀρχήν τε καὶ ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὄντων, τὸν υἱόν*, 829.

[4] This is even more apparent if the MS. reading, *πρεσβύτερον*, is retained. The text as given is Stählin's emendation. Is there sufficient reason to reject *πρεσβύτερον*?

subject had he thought out his convictions into entire finality. The statements we have above considered at least make it clear that he had advanced to within measurable distance of the doctrine of eternal generation.

We have to consider more closely Clement's views on the unity and the distinction within the Godhead. The Catholic formula of the several Persons in the one Substance was not reached until a later date, though there is truth in the claim that Clement prepared the way for Nicæa. Two strains or tendencies, however, run through all his teaching on the inward relations of the Logos to the Father. They are never completely harmonised, and hence it comes that he has been claimed as an ally both in the Monarchian and in the Arian interests. We must not attribute to his thought a greater unity than it really possesses, nor force into systematic integrity elements in reality disparate and uncongenial. We may, however, with no unfairness to our author, examine the language he uses on the unity of the Godhead; and also consider the degree of separation he places between the Father and the Son. It will remain, then, to inquire whether the stress and emphasis appear to fall rather on the aspect of unity or on that of distinction.

To begin with the divine Unity. The Logos is God. Not only does He derive His being from the absolute Deity,[1] but He is Himself intrinsically God. The term θεός is applied frequently to His person, nor is His claim to the title abandoned even in the lowliest actions of His incarnate life.[2] When He draws near to man as Saviour, when He becomes the all-satisfying possession of our human nature, when His activity is discerned in historic and mundane events, He is still described by Clement in lan-

[1] ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, 6.

[2] 99, 112, 113, 582, 818. *Cp.* esp. ὁ ἄτυφος θεός, 190.

guage which denotes the fullest measure of divine being: He is still ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς λόγος.[1] It may be urged that Clement is wont to use the term θεός with considerable latitude, and that in more than one passage he boldly and enthusiastically applies it to perfected human nature.[2] Deification, no doubt, was common and facile in his age, and he does not escape the influence of the custom; but this is hardly adequate reason for questioning the full significance of the term θεός, when he applies it with deliberate intention to the Logos. Moreover, the intrinsic difference between the nature of the Son and the nature of man is definitely asserted in other passages.[3] Following the lead of Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Clement often describes the Son's relation to the Father under such terms as "Image," "Person," "Expression." The likeness or resemblance, which is a gradual process as between humanity and the Word, is a permanent feature in the relationship of the Word to the Supreme Godhead. The saying, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," has been completely realised in Christ.[4] The fact that such language no doubt implies a distinction of some kind between the image or likeness and the original for which it stands, must not obscure the truth that every resemblance implies some degree of identity, and that the Logos Christ can only be the "Likeness" or "Copy" (in Platonic language), the "Manifestation" (in Johannine) of the Absolute Godhead, because in essential respects He is identical with Him, shares His being, and *is* God, under whatever degree of limitation.

To this we must add that in a number of passages the unity and equality of the Son with the Father is implied

[1] 277, 453.
[2] See *infra*, chap. xiv.
[3] 439, 533, 968. See, however, 776 for a different point of view.
[4] 156.

or directly taught under terms of local and mutual relationship. The Son is *in* the Father : the Father is *in* the Son.[1] The perfect being of the Father is consistent with, and even only explicable by, this inner relationship. The Father is perfect, for the Son is in Him and the Father in the Son.[2] Such duality is compatible with the completest unity, for "Both are a unity, even God."[3] Clement is fond of varying Saint John's term of relationship (πρός) for one of more local connotation (ἐν). "The Word," he says, "was in God." So the existence of the Father is never to be dissociated from that of the Son, for while each is characterised by unity of being, the unities are still not two but one : the Son is εἷς ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ πατρός.[4] At the end of the *Pædagogus* we are told that thanksgiving is to be addressed to the One divine Being, who is Father and Son at once—τῷ μόνῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ πατρί.[5] Language can hardly find fuller expression for the unity which transcends without abolishing distinction. It is in accordance with this doctrine that the Word is declared to be placed on an equality with the Sovereign of the universe, and to deserve the love of humanity equally with God Himself.[6] There is a passage in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* in which Clement is opposing the separate and distinct hypostases of Gnostic speculation and in which he asserts, more emphatically perhaps than anywhere else, the essential unity of the two Persons. The full force of his words can hardly be realised except in the original.[7] So far he goes in teaching the unity of the Logos and the supreme Godhead. If we are to measure his Christology by the terms of his highest and fullest assertions, there seems little room left

[1] 112. St John xiv. 10, is in his mind. [2] 129, 142.
[3] 135, 311. [4] 215. [5] 311. [6] 86, 952.
[7] ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν ταὐτότητι λόγον θεὸν ἐν θεῷ φαμεν, ὃς καὶ "εἷς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς" εἶναι λέγεται, ἀδιάστατος, ἀμέριστος, εἷς θεός, 969.

for Arianism or Subordination. But there is another side to the account.

The Logos, as we have already seen, is the Mediator between God and the Cosmos, the intermediate condition of there being any Cosmos in existence. Now, it is sufficiently obvious that if God in His intrinsic nature is unknowable and unrelated, and if it is through the Logos that He creates a world in time and space, and enters into fellowship with the finite and the transient, the Logos must be capable of activities which are incompatible with the nature of absolute Deity. Mediation, therefore, involves some degree and phase of subordination. This is an inherent difficulty of all theologies, which attempt to harmonise Immanence with Transcendence, the related with the absolute conceptions of the Deity. The efforts of Gnostic speculation to bridge the gap prove how acutely this problem was felt by men of speculative mind. It is no real solution to reply, as the Sabellians did, that the distinction is merely "economic." It is no adequate answer to reject, with Clement, the theory of a merely externalised Logos in order to reassert the principle of inward relationship within the Deity.[1] If the Logos can do what the Sovereign and unoriginate Godhead is debarred by His own nature from undertaking without an intermediate Agent, differences of nature and not alone of function seem at once to be involved. To some extent Clement must have felt this. Sometimes the difficulty leads to the suggestion of two Logoi, one ever self-identical, the other created and capable of activity in time.[2] In another passage it is possible that he even anticipated the use of the famous term ὁμοούσιος in relation to the God-

[1] 646.

[2] 973. The view seems to be Clement's, though the passage occurs in the *Excerpta ex Theod.*

head.[1] But the difficulty is not so much removed as emphasised by these assertions. In interpreting them we must bear in mind Clement's application to the Logos of the well-known passage in the Proverbs, "The Lord formed me in the beginning of his way;" also his description of the Son as "the new creation," and his account of Him as "the first born of all creation."[2] However close is the relation in which the Son, as efficient cause or as "a certain activity of the Father," stands to the Supreme Originator; however intimate as "Counsellor" is His connection with the will of the Father;[3] an order of thought, a priority of conception, perhaps even of being, is still necessarily involved. And if "every activity of the Lord must be referred to the Almighty," if the greater or lesser density of bodily nature may be used to symbolise the comparison between the Father and the Son,[4] it becomes at least a matter of some difficulty to harmonise Clement's language in these passages with his undoubted assertion elsewhere of the equality and identity of nature in the Godhead.

It is on such grounds that in later days the definite charge of heresy was brought against Clement. "He reduces the Son to a creature," τὸν υἱὸν εἰς κτίσμα κατάγει, said Photius in the ninth century; and it was probably on this ground that at a later date his name was omitted from the list of saints in the Calendar. Is this charge true? Does he so far separate and subordinate the Logos as to belong clearly by anticipation to the Arian camp. Later

[1] Stählin, iii. 210. From the *Adumbrationes* (*Hypotyposeis*). The Latin version is, "Sicut etiam verbum ipsum (hoc est filius), quod *secundum æqualitatem substantiæ* unum cum patre consistit, sempiternum est et infectum." See Zahn, *Supplem. Clem.*, 139; Ziegert, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, 86; Harnack, *Hist. Dogm.*, ii. 352 n. ὁμοούσιος is used in 467, but not in reference to the Logos.

[2] 67, 941, 969. See Prov. viii. 22, R.V. and Margin.

[3] 824, 833, 838. σύμβουλος in 769, 832.

[4] 833, 971.

authorities are about equally divided in their answer. Bishop Bull[1] and Dorner[2] deny the correctness of Photius' judgment. Huet,[3] Zahn,[4] and Harnack regard it as substantiated.[5] Bigg recognises subordination, but holds that the idea is "strictly secondary."[6] Thus there is little unanimity on the point, and indeed it is best not to press it to a final solution. Clement did not anticipate the issues which divided Alexandria a century later, nor can we be surprised if, in an age when Christianity was first beginning to think out its theology, conceptions subsequently regarded as incompatible found an equal status and acceptance in the thought of a great teacher, more generous than rigidly systematic in his outlook. A comparison of the passages in which each of the separate strains of teaching finds expression may leave us convinced that his interpreters have made good their claim on either side. At times he teaches the full equality of nature between the First and Second Persons. At times he tends to subordinate the Son. It was not his task to reconcile the conflicting tendencies; nor even to point out that any conflict was involved. For all this we must go to Nicæa, if indeed the Christian world is not already beginning to suspect that theological solutions may be made too definite, and that often, in Clement's manner, the human mind must hold various views on God's true nature, since even antinomies are less disastrous than the reconciliations that are premature.

So it is with the question of Personality. Is the Logos personal or not? Two cautions at least are necessary before we attempt to answer such a question. In the first place the whole conception of personality had not in

[1] *Defensio fid. Nic.*, Book II., chap. vi.
[2] *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, E. T., I. (i.), 287, *sqq.*
[3] *Origeniana*, ii. 2; Quæst. 2. [Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, xvii. 753.]
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 98, 142.
[5] *Hist. Dogm.*, ii. 353, n.
[6] *Christian Platonists*, 69.

Clement's time that clear and defined precision which the course of philosophic thought has given it in modern times. The antithesis of Ego and non-Ego was not realised as we know it, and among the various departments of higher interest psychology was, from a modern standpoint, still one of the less advanced. Here, as so often, we must be careful not to read later ideas into the language of an ancient writer.

Side by side with this obvious caution we must place a second, in regard to the attribution of human personality to beings of a higher order. For personality is a limitation, as well as a prerogative ; and while God's being must contain all that is of value in the human nature of which He is the source, it is plain that personality will be a very different thing according as it exists in man or in the Godhead. Let anyone carefully think out all that his own personality owes to the mere fact that he lives this life in the body, that

> "Thro' the frame that binds him in
> His isolation grows defined,"

and then ask himself what will be his notion of personality if all this influence be deducted. The necessity for greater caution in much of our easy assertion about "a personal God" will be evident at once. With these reserves it is interesting to ask whether Clement's conception of the Logos was personal or not.

We have to answer that here also two strains of thought, two types of phraseology, run throughout his teaching. In the case of Philo it is a much debated question, whether a separate and personal hypostasis was attributed or not to the Logos, and the same kind of uncertainty hangs over the less numerous references in Justin. We cannot decide the question with finality even in Clement's case, though it is clear that the belief in the incarnation of the Logos tended

to react upon the conception of the mode of His pre-existence. It was easier and more natural to think of the Son as essentially personal, because He had been seen and known in the personal life of the historical Jesus.

Yet, even with this considerable inducement to personify the Logos, Clement has not left the point beyond dispute. Many passages seem to indicate a conception which is abstract, impersonal, fluid, devoid of sharp-cut limitations. The Logos is the instrument of God, the divine seed sown in the world, the spiritual rain that falls from above.[1] He proceeds from the Father as the rays of light proceed from the sun—a comparison which Clement allows himself, though Justin had thought it needed careful explanation.[2] So the Son is the will of the Father : He is the spiritual Paradise, the good soil into which the people of God are transplanted from their former life. He is the Name of God, the expression, that is, or manifestation of the Divine Nature ; He is the representation (*πρόσωπον*) of the Father ; the voice of the Lord without form or shape.[3] This impersonal terminology is of cumulative force, and it is common in Clement's writings. It is further accentuated by the use of three other terms which appear almost to imply that the Logos-Christ is little more than an attribute of the supreme Godhead. For the Word is the Power, the Wisdom, the Activity of God, *δύναμις θεϊκή, σοφία ὑπερκόσμιος, πατρική τις ἐνέργεια*, though the last expression is "so to say."[4] Such language is not of technical precision, but it tends towards the idea of an attribute rather than of a person ; and so strong a champion of Clement's orthodoxy as Dorner is induced by such phrases to allow that there is ground for the

[1] 6, 123, 155.

[2] *πάντῃ κεχυμένος*, 840 ; *φῶς πατρῷον*, 831, *cf.* 86. But he dislikes the Gnostic conception of *προβολαί*, 724. See Justin, *Trypho*, 61, 128.

[3] 93, 132, 669, 736, 756.

[4] 6, 85, 93, 832, 833.

charge of incipient Sabellianism.[1] Any student of Clement who set out to prove that his Logos-Christ was not a separate hypostasis but the supreme Deity Himself in certain modes or phases of activity, might cite many passages in support of his contention.

But these abstract terms may no doubt be pressed too far, and it may fairly be asked whether they necessarily imply more than Saint John's language, when he describes the Lord as the Way, the Truth, and the Life ; or Saint Paul's, when he calls Christ the Power and the Wisdom of God. Moreover, Alexandria was the home of allegory, and Clement was quite aware that figurative language does not wholly express and represent the truth : *πολλαχῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ λόγος : πῦρ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος.*[2] In any case, over against these fluid, elastic, impersonal terms, we have to set a long list of expressions in which the Logos is described as acting after the manner of an independent person. He is the Creator, the Teacher, the Pilot, the General, the Herald, the Reconciler, Charioteer of Humanity, Champion, Father Mother Teacher Nurse in one, Leader of all mankind, Husband, Initiator, Counsellor of God, Prime Administrator of the Universe, Umpire, Trainer, Master of the Games, Physician ; finally, in the noble and suggestive figure of Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews, "the Great High Priest" of Jewish and Egyptian ritual.[3] All this is definitely personal terminology. It is indicative of a familiar way of thinking. Even though it be urged that in such language Clement is merely employing poetical and metaphorical expressions to describe the Word's activity, and not asserting metaphysical doctrines, the use of such terms is still significant. Where he has no problem con-

[1] *Op. cit.*, I. (i.), pp. 288–9.

[2] 126, 708.

[3] These various terms will be found in the following passages in the order given : 7, 80, 86, 93, 123, 131, 444, 665, 769, 833, 839, 937, 952, 858, etc.

sciously in mind for solution, the most that we can do is to ascertain the habitual manner of his thought. Side by side with much abstract terminology there runs this other type of nomenclature, culminating in the Scriptural and traditional formula of the "Son." The alternatives may not be clearly realised, but it is on this latter side that the emphasis really falls. On the whole, there is Personality in the Logos.

Up to this point our inquiry has been occupied with the intrinsic character of the Logos. We have tried to ascertain what Clement thought of the innermost nature of the Word, and of the interior relations within the Godhead, so far as his thoughts on these high subjects ever took definite form. Our inquiry has shown us that, partly owing to the stage of theological thought at which he wrote, partly from the personal tendencies of his mind, he did not always reach precision or consistency. He left much for later masters to work out. But, when we pass from the nature of the Logos to His offices in regard to the Cosmos and Humanity, there is less vagueness and obscurity. Here his conceptions are clear and precise and often singularly valuable in their suggestions. It is as though we discerned and understood the Word more fully, as He enters into closer relations with the world and human experience. When we say that creative and educative offices alike are His, we have named the two principal phases in His activity.

The Logos is Creator, *Δημιουργός*. Occupying a position midway between the uncreated and created being, He is the medium or steward of those divine forces through which the universe originated and by which its every process is controlled. Anterior himself to every phase of finite existence, He is the Adviser of Deity and the Supreme Executor of the designs of God.[1] More truly, perhaps, it is in the Logos that God communes with Himself, and

[1] 769, 833.

limits His own being by definite acts of will. Hence apart from the agency of the Logos, there can be neither World nor Time nor Space nor Knowledge. The isolation of the Absolute was only broken when, through the Logos, it became possible for the Divine Nature to abide unexpressed in its transcendent solitude, and yet withal to express itself in form and colour, in the change and process, and in every other picturesque finitude of the Cosmos in all its aspects. To this antinomy the Logos alone holds the solution and the key. In a similar contradiction it is said that God abides unknown ; and yet through the Logos, to whom nothing is incomprehensible, there lies an avenue even to the knowledge of God. Thus the creation and administration of the Universe are to be assigned to Him, and the Stoic conception of an immanence of the supreme Deity is rejected,[1] only for the same result to be secured by virtue of the ceaseless influence of the Word. He is in no sense part of the created Universe, for no smallest portion of all its manifold story can come into being without His action. By Him, at the beginning of Time, the metabolism of all Process had its commencement. By Him mankind, who are His λογικὰ πλάσματα,[2] were fashioned. It is in Him alone that the discords of existence find their harmony, and there is no act of divine Beneficence which is not conferred through Him as medium. He is thus God's Regent. Over all the agencies of the universe He is supreme, and under His salutary government all men in their various degrees of affinity to Himself must live. He is the Divine Word, the Divine Reason, the Divine Thought, for perhaps this last term best expresses the true significance of the Logos ; and when in a later century the discovery of Nature's laws prompts the astronomer to cry, "O God, I think again Thy thoughts after Thee," he comes near to the

[1] 346. [2] 6.

Alexandrine conception of the world as regulated by the reason and bearing the impress of the Thought of the unoriginated God.

Such is the office of the Creator Logos ; such are His cosmic functions. In the scheme of Philo this aspect of the work of Divine Reason had predominated over all others ; with him the cosmic office of the Logos was all important. In the later development of Christian theology other aspects of the Word received fuller recognition, and while the conception of the Creator Word was not abandoned —it survives still in the Nicene formula, "By whom all things were made"—it became less exclusively prominent. Clement stands early in the Christian series. He retains all the essential features of the Philonic conception, and he has robbed it of none of its surpassing dignity. "All things," he is never tired of quoting, "were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made." By His sole and supreme agency all forms of finite existence come into being, accomplish their purpose, and finally pass away. He alone administers the world.[1]

We come to an aspect of the Logos more clearly Christian, and more peculiarly Clement's own, when we speak of His office in the Education of the world. Perhaps Clement is more original in this than in any other prominent feature of his thought. If the Word, in this phase of His activity, has any affinities, they are with that Divine Wisdom of the Old Testament, whose voice is to the sons of men and whose guidance leads in the way of righteousness, but the resemblance is true parallelism, never amounting to appropriation. When Clement speaks of the Saviour's education of Humanity he deals with his own subject, and recurs to it with all the delight of a teacher in his favourite

[1] Drummond's striking summary of Philo's doctrine of the Logos is well worthy of attention in this connection. *Philo Judæus*, ii. 273.

theme. On no other topic does he manifest the same fusion of noble thought with sincere religious feeling. He who created the great world has also made man, he says, the lesser world or microcosm.[1] He is not only responsible for man's being, His purpose leads on to man's well-being also, and has ultimately in view for him nothing less than eternal life.[2] It is for this object that He provides man with a moral environment in the Cosmos;[3] and through all the Word's dealings with humanity this educative purpose is never relinquished or forgotten. God may be Sovereign and man His slave. God may be Creator and man His handiwork. God may be Deliverer and man find alone in Him salvation. God may be Father and man His child. All these are the common figures of religious thought for the relationship between humanity and the divine. Clement is familiar with them and employs them all. But none of them lies so intimately near to his central thought and purpose as that other conception of the Divine Educator. It was not for nothing that Clement had known in personal experience the watchful care and the disinterested delight, with which a true master gathers the band of pupils round him, and leads them on according to their ability from one stage to the next advance. So this born teacher delights to dwell upon the office of the Teacher-Word. The love, the constancy, the variety, of this divine training are all marked and instructive features in his account.

"Philanthropy" is characteristic of the Logos; the Word is a Lover of men. This term recurs incessantly. There is no stint, but even a certain lavishness in this divine love of humanity.[4] A certain tenderness and pity characterised His dealings with us from the first.[5] Hence the persistent and universal appeal of the Word, summoning

[1] 5. [2] 7. [3] 311.
[4] δαψιλευόμενος τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὁ χρηστὸς λόγος κ.τ.λ., 479. [5] 7.

even those whose scant attention to such appeals was clear to Divine Foreknowledge.[1] There is all the affection of Fatherhood, even of Motherhood, in the Teacher's attitude; His goodness, His gentleness, His compassion are not lost in the greatness and dignity of His teaching.[2] All that is said with so much charm and beauty about childhood in the *Pædagogus* has its counterpart in the Teacher's nature; the first book of that work has many a suggestion for schoolmasters of every type. The divine instruction is never with Clement the dry product of the mind without affection. The Logos from the earliest stages of human training, up to our final initiation into the highest grade of Gnostic vision, ever imparts the truth in love.

It is difficult to exhaust the varieties of form and manner through which this educative beneficence is exerted. The Word is all-seeing, the sleepless guardian of humanity, the overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of our hearts, the participator in all our secrets.[3] He cares for all His handiwork, for that "herd of men" who are at once His creation and His charge, ever ready to accommodate Himself to human need, ever varying His method as times, persons, places change.[4] So the instruction comes "at sundry times and in divers manners," as the suggestive phrase of another Alexandrine writer had expressed it;[5] but however it comes, and in whatever measure we may be able to receive it, "every fair and admirable lesson is learned from God through the Son."[6] So it was He who gave philosophy to the Greeks. It was He who gave Moses the Law.[7] In prophecy it was the Word who spoke. He is the milk of spiritual babes, the meat and

[1] 93, 443, 948. [2] 124, 956. [3] 280, 459, 611.

[4] 101, 181, 194, 467. Note, in the last passage, his favourite term συμπεριφέρεσθαι.

[5] 667; *cp.* 142, ὁ τρόπος τῆς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ ποικίλος εἰς σωτηρίαν

[6] 816. [7] 832, 834.

drink of the full-grown and adult.[1] He can reprove or reward, drive or lead, attract by gentleness, compel by the wholesome discipline of pain. The magnet which draws the kindred substance to itself, the yoke which even though easy is the symbol of control and toil, are not too dissimilar to be each the type of His influence.[2] He may make man His instrument, or He may build in man His shrine. He is the spiritual Paradise or Garden in which the soul is planted. All things by His influence become "an ocean of blessings" upon which the voyage of life is made.[3] He never sleeps.[4] He never leaves His own.[5] He never fails His pupils.[6] He neglects none of the many methods of salvation.[7] Where He is absent, there is confusion and turmoil and evil deeds.[8] Where He comes, there is harmony, there is light, there is purity, there is likeness and conformity to His very image, so far as the hindrances which beset humanity allow.[9] To all phases of human need it is His joy to minister. The Logos will be present, as the Incarnate Christ was, at a convivial banquet.[10] He will advise us in matters of attire, or He will instruct the seeker after God. ἡ δὲ εὕρεσις δι' υἱοῦ, each advance in knowledge is through the Son.[11] And all this long and varied process of correction, discipline, instruction, enlightenment, seems to reach its culmination when, after each previous stage of training has been accomplished, the soul is led, in the very footsteps of the great High Priest, to those solemn and distant forecourts, which fringe the Presence Chamber of the illimitable, absolute, and sovereign Godhead. Much more might be said. In particular we might show how the conception of the Saviour and the Physician fuse and blend with the central and dominating conception of the Teacher,

[1] 124, 896. [2] 495, 996. [3] 86. [4] 219.
[5] 181. [6] 442. [7] 83, 257. [8] 259.
[9] 560, 792, 844. [10] 194. [11] 376.

but it is better to leave this great thought of Clement without undue amplification. The Christian world has rarely paid higher honour to its eternal Lord, than when it offered this scholar's grateful tribute to the loving and universal "Master" of mankind.

This account of Clement's doctrine of the Logos has been of necessity to some extent detailed and technical. It is only possible to arrive at his real meaning by examining and comparing the many scattered passages in which he has expressed or hinted at his thought. Let us beware lest in attention to particulars we lose sight of the majesty and elevation of this august conception, and lest, in the difficulty of reconciling the various aspects of Clement's presentation, we fail to appreciate the unity and the dignity of this supreme and universal Mediator. The Logos runs through all Greek philosophy, from Heraclitus to the Stoics, from them to Philo, and so, at a later date than Clement's, to its last phase in Neoplatonism. It was, as Harnack says, "Greek philosophy *in nuce*." It contained substantially what the mind of the Hellene could contribute to the explanation of the Cosmos. In its different stages it was the first and last word of the most serious pagan thinkers.

And once again we may be permitted to contemplate with genuine wonder the boldness of the appropriation, by which this singularly valuable heritage of the schools was claimed by Christianity as its own. This claim is made in the Prologue to the fourth Gospel; it is made in Justin, in Athenagoras, and in other Apologists. Irenæus and Tertullian are prepared to reassert it. But for the full possession of this conception, for the fearless and masterly employment of it in the highest and lowest ranges of religious thought, we must come to Clement of Alexandria. It is easy and it is right to point to the previous achievement of Philo; to draw up a considerable catena of passages from earlier

Christian writers, in which the identification of the Logos with the Christ is made ; to refer to the pervading eclecticism of the period, and to show that if Christianity was to have any relation with the higher thought of Paganism, it could not possibly neglect the Logos. When all this is allowed, and every fair deduction has been made, it remains for the student of Christian origins to note with grateful admiration, how in the name of a new religion of obscure source, for which educated men like Fronto, Celsus, and Lucian had hitherto felt nothing but contempt, a writer like Clement, with no profound originality, can boldly take possession of such a momentous, far-reaching, and thoroughly philosophic doctrine. The tentative and cautious assimilation of the scientific theory of Evolution by Christianity in modern times can hardly be cited as a close parallel ; for in the earlier case a new religion assimilated an ancient principle : in the later, the religion is ancient, the principle is new. In either case, however, we are reminded how impossible it is for the religious spirit to accomplish its work in disregard of contemporary modes of thought. If to-day, as in Clement's age, there are doubtful souls who fear lest Christianity itself should suffer from its indebtedness to such alien sources ; or Christian historians who discern in such fusion and syncretism only the "secularisation" of pure religion, it may be urged in answer that the power of Christianity to minister to the spiritual progress of the race has been due, in large measure, to the wide range of its affinities, and to the singular vitality which it has evidenced in its assimilative powers.

Nevertheless, great and noble as are the lines on which Clement has portrayed the Logos, we shall do well not to leave this central doctrine of his teaching without some reference to the points at which it may be open to criticism. At the close of the second century the doctrine of the

Trinity, while established and already traditional, was only imperfectly worked out in detail. Yet, even then, there were not a few who felt that the conception of the Logos might be so largely employed as to disturb the interior balance of the triune Godhead. Such were the "Alogi" of Asia Minor, or those other teachers, mentioned by Irenæus,[1] who rejected the fourth Gospel. All Monarchian, Sabellian, and Patripassian schools owed their existence to a reaction from Logos-Christology, and their vogue and influence in the earlier part of the third century is chronologically significant. Such protests and reactions had no doubt their ground. Without going beyond the works of Clement, it is obvious that the wide activities attributed to the Logos leave the other Persons of the Godhead with a very meagre *rôle*. For, on the other hand, the Father is regarded as little more than the transcendently Existent, the pure Being of Plato, the Absolute of later philosophy. He is represented fully and adequately in the Logos. It may even be in thought, rather than in fact, that He is isolated and remote. Still, if Clement's theology is pushed to its conclusion and reduced to any sort of system, the Sovereign Godhead is absentee. Finite intelligence may not reach Him. Finite things He may not touch. Through the Logos He creates and administers, or rather the Logos creates and administers on His behalf. Only mediately is He the deity whom Patriarchs and Prophets knew. His place and existence are in the Beyond. It is only by Deputy that He enters our world of time and sense.

And if it is so with the Father, what of the Spirit? Let us allow that the doctrine of the Spirit was only developed later; even so the fact remains, that there is no place left in Clement's system for a Third Person, because every office that has been assigned to Him is so fully

[1] iii. 11, 9.

discharged by the Logos. The "Mission of the Comforter" is unnecessary, for the Logos is everywhere and always present, and He consoles, inspires, guides, and responds at once to every "Veni Creator" of the heart.[1] The Word and the Holy Spirit are sometimes spoken of as identical,[2] just as, in the New Testament itself, the distinctions of the Persons are often in abeyance. Strictly speaking, if Christian theology had developed on Clement's lines, it would have resulted in a different conception of the Trinity from that which the Church eventually adopted. It would have given us a transcendent Father, an all-pervading Logos or Spirit, a supreme historic manifestation at the Incarnation. And the last named would have been so purely a mode or limitation of the universal Logos, that a Duality rather than a Trinity would have been the result.

The remark is made by Harnack that the Logos doctrine "did not belong to the solid structure of the Catholic faith."[3] It was a dominant phase of religious thought in the early centuries, but since then theological interest has centred round other subjects, and comparatively little use has been made of this suggestive speculation. This is to say, in other words, that Hellenism did not permanently determine the course of Christian theology. Nothing was more true to the genius of the Greek mind than to conceive God as revealed Reason. To view the world as a great order, to attribute all its discords and apparent contradictions to our limited knowledge of that order, to discern in every process an expression of the hidden and universal rationality of things, and then to find for this great quality a source and home in the very nature of the Ultimate, whether conceived on transcendent or on immanent lines, was to

[1] In the *Euchologion* of Serapion (tr. Wordsworth, p. 63) the Word—not the Spirit as in most Liturgies—is invoked upon the Eucharistic elements.

[2] *E.g.* 691.

[3] *Hist. Dogm.*, iii. 1.

the typical Hellene an entirely satisfying line of thought. It afforded him a clear and lucid view of the world in which he found himself, and if there were deeper needs and wider problems, which such a religious philosophy left unsatisfied, he was better able than the man of any other race to put those on one side. Reason, Thought, Intelligence, System, were for him the supreme characteristics of nature and of human life, and in the unification and hypostasis of all such principles we have the Logos of philosophic theology.

Man interprets God in terms of his own nature, and side by side with Intelligence are the other forces of Emotion and of Will. If Intelligence predominated with the Greek, Will or Power were supreme with the Hebrew ; Emotion, Feeling, Love, with the Mystic and the Saint. The character of any theology depends on the proportion in which these factors are discovered in the divine Nature. The Greek saw Reason as primary in the Godhead ; Christian thought, when Hellenic influence has not been supreme, has insisted rather upon the Power and the Love of God, according as it has taken its tone from the Old or the New Testaments. These three principles, which are fundamental in man's spiritual nature, and therefore in theology, may be discerned at work in the variations of later religious teaching. It may be well to point out that even in Clement the Logos is not exclusively Intelligence. The other factors of Will and Love are also there. For the Logos is frequently defined as the "will" or "power" of the Father, while nothing is more striking in Clement's account of His relation to humanity than His unfailing love and care. Still, fundamentally, the Logos is the Thought of God. Is it because Intelligence is neither the primary need nor the highest activity of our human nature, that Religion has commonly chosen rather to discern in the Divine Being, as

its chief characteristics, the other elements of Power and Love?

Such an admission, that religious intellectualism is incapable of meeting all the spiritual needs of human nature, should not however lead us to ignore the value of the Logos-theology. Renan speaks of Alexandrine Christianity in Clement's time as "un remarquable mouvement intellectuel, supérieur peut-être à tous les essais de rationalisme qui se sont jamais produits au sein du christianisme."[1] It would say little indeed for the value of the human intellect in religion if, from the central doctrine of a movement so described, there were no permanent gains to Christian theology. In the midst of the many difficulties with which thoughtful men find themselves beset at the present time, they may do worse than seek counsel and guidance from such teachers, as are prepared to remind us of "the permanent value of the Logos-Christology"[2] or to estimate the contribution of the Alexandrines to religion as favourably as Dr Bigg in his concluding Bampton Lecture.[3] Our consideration of Clement's doctrine of the Logos may conclude with some recognition of those elements in it which our own age might learn with advantage to reappropriate.

Belief in the Logos was belief in the unity of the world. In particular, it was the recognition that natural forces and spiritual forces had the same origin and one great end. So there was no discord here. The Word surveys all existence and never leaves His watch-tower. Or He holds the helm and guides all for the best. The great world outside and the little world of individual life belong both to Him, nor do His cosmic offices ever come into conflict or competition

[1] *Marc-Aurèle*, 433.
[2] W. R. Inge, now Dean of Saint Paul's, *Paddock Lectures*, pp. 65 *sqq.*
[3] Pp. 269 *sqq.*

with His ministry to man's moral needs. When we reflect upon the long and not entirely creditable controversy between Science and Religion, or when we see how irreconcilable the antagonisms between Nature and the Spirit have often appeared to honest minds, we are tempted to envy the serenity of outlook that saw no permanent discrepancy between the processes of the Cosmos and the claims of the human soul. How different is the statement, "The cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends," recorded as the deliberate conclusion of a representative man of science:[1] or the unanswered inquiry

> "Are God and Nature then at strife,
> That Nature lends such evil dreams?"

made by the modern poet who knew Nature best. The world will hardly consent to rest permanently in such contradictions. In some fashion or other it will surely escape from them, and reclaim for the Cosmos such a spiritual significance as many mystics and many poets have believed it to possess. And whenever Religion finally surrenders the hopeless attempt to control Science in the domain of facts, and learns again to exercise its proper function in the region of their higher interpretation, it may be that in some latter-day presentation of the Logos, it will revert to the standpoint of the Alexandrines. Restating, after their manner, the reasons for the ultimate spiritual unity and intelligibility of the world, our spiritual guides may so be led to recognise in Clement and his fellows the forerunners of a modern theology, whose claims the most serious among the votaries of science will neither ridicule nor disregard.

Again, it is the Alexandrine theology that gives us the most complete combination of the transcendent and the

[1] Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics*, 83.

immanent views of God. It is impossible to remove the Godhead to a greater remoteness from the Cosmos than Clement does, when he adopts the negative terminology with which he was familiar in Plato, and also in the suspected Gnostic schools. Morally, it may be, the God of the Old Testament or of Saint Augustine is more entirely separate from the human sphere than the God of Clement. But, ontologically, from the dispassionate standpoint of unbiassed inquiry, the supreme Godhead is as remote with the Alexandrines as is compatible with the bare principle of His existence. Yet, on the other hand, "the Word is very nigh unto thee." Nothing can be more intimate than the relationship of the Divine Logos alike to His world and to His human children. It was not without result that Clement had become familiar both with Platonism and with the Stoics. "Platonist," as he has been called, and consistently as he retains the divine transcendence, it is still on the indwelling aspect of the Godhead that the stress of his thinking most often falls. His glad and joyous recognition of the universal Guide and Teacher is perhaps for us, as for himself, the most precious element in his thought.

To some extent his recognition of these two complementary aspects of the Deity has its affinities with modern religious needs. Our age is more conscious, than any other epoch of western Christianity, of the divine remoteness. Our very knowledge of the laws of Nature intervenes to hide Him. Many familiar and proximate certainties of the old religion have ceased to link our minds with Him. The old pathways, which were once the sure avenues to His Presence, are no longer trodden ; and much of our modern activity in well-doing rests on the tacit principle that, if vision and knowledge are not possible, action at least is left. So far does it sometimes seem that the God of our

fathers has receded from us. Pragmatism essentially is an Agnostic's creed.

Over against this sense of God's remoteness is to be set the tendency, sometimes existing in nominally Christian circles, sometimes outside them, to rediscover the divine in what is very near at hand. "Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet." Much that passes as "New Thought" is a reversion to the immanent view of God. Much that is suspected as novel in theology is the assertion of a divine element in man. The Alexandrine Logos, in its double relationship with the supreme Deity and with man, is a possession and heritage of Christian theology which no modern teacher will wisely ignore, who seeks to minister to an age uncertain of many things, but paradoxically convinced that the Godhead is at once more distant and more near than its later predecessors have believed.

Finally, in close connection with the preceding aspect of the Logos, is the significant fact that it implies a *dynamic* rather than a *static* conception of the world, and therefore of religion. Both are essential; movement implies rest, the transient necessitates the abiding, Being and Becoming can never be divorced. But the present need of Christianity is a philosophy and a justification of its dynamic aspect. Men are troubled to find that old formulas need restatement and readjustment. They suspect "Modernism," and are anxious to reassure themselves that they can stand where their fathers stood. They fall unconsciously into that worst type of scepticism, which can discover no activity of the Spirit in things present. They take Christianity to mean what they believe it always did mean, and draw one of two inferences, either that it is out of date and impossible, or else that it must be held in an isolated compartment of the mind. Such difficulties are quite real. Problems of this type are

the peculiar lot of every transitional age. But they are accentuated to the point of danger, wherever the dynamic aspect of Christianity is ignored, wherever men live in oblivion of the Christ, who through the ages more and more is being fulfilled. Is there no lesson, alike for those who are satisfied and for those who are dissatisfied with the purely static and rigid aspect of Religion, in such a living and fruitful conception as Clement's idea of the Logos? Can we learn nothing from the thought of a Power or Person, Who is the Principle of all movement and the controlling Agency throughout all change, without Whom no new fact occurs in history, no new idea emerges in the world of thought; Who is at once the Alpha and Omega of all cosmic and spiritual metabolism, and of whose activity every stage in the long series is the evidence and result? To reappropriate this aspect of the Christ, to relate it to the actual conditions of our age, and by faith of this order to minister to the needs of those who are unsettled or adrift, would be to combine the Old and the New to good purpose, and to carry out, after many centuries, a task not unlike that of Clement, when he taught in Alexandria that the Logos was the true δύναμις and ἐνεργεία of God.

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